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Eleanor Thompson



*J. Swaine Sc.*

PRINCE EUGENE.

*Published by H. Colburn, 50, Strand St. London.*

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MEMOIRS  
OF  
PRINCE EUGENE  
OF  
SAVOY;

C. J. Prince de Ligne

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

TRANSLATED  
FROM THE GENUINE FRENCH EDITION,  
CONTAINING ALL THOSE PASSAGES WHICH HAVE SINCE  
BEEN SUPPRESSED BY ORDER OF THE  
FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

—◆—  
BY FREDERIC SHOBERL.  
—◆—

EMBELLISHED WITH A PORTRAIT, &c.

LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN,  
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1811.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE original of the work here presented to the public, first appeared at Weymar, in 1809. It was afterwards reprinted at Paris, where considerable pains were taken to correct numerous errors in the names and punctuation, and it is from one of these improved copies that the present translation has been made. Another edition has since been published in France, but with the omission of various passages which probably appeared obnoxious to the government of that country. All these passages will be found in the following sheets, which the reader may be assured contain a faithful version of the entire work, without abridgment or mutilation.

On the merits of this singular production of a man, whose history for a long period is interwoven with that of all Europe, it is unnecessary to offer any comment, after the opinion which has been given by the ablest of our critical Reviewers. "We are admitted, in these memoirs," says the *Edinburgh Review*\*, into the confidence of a statesman and hero, with whose life a very important period of our history is closely connected. We are instructed by the candid recitals of a powerful mind, viewing every object in a great and masterly style; disclosing the most secret causes of events; simplifying the apparent mysteries of Court intrigues; doing justice to neglected or injured merit; and throwing the broad light of genius over the obscurest parts of his career.

\* No. XXXIII. p. 40.

“ We are particularly struck, in this work, with the candor and warmth of heart displayed by Prince Eugene, in speaking of the French generals to whom he was opposed, and by the simplicity with which he relates his own actions, as well as the severity with which he judges his own mistakes. It is in this respect, perhaps, that we feel the strongest and the most humiliating contrast to the habits of modern times, when, instead of this chivalrous tone of magnanimity, modesty, and candor, we meet with nothing, even in the narratives of great commanders, but specimens of that vulgar, boasting, and degrading rancor, which used to be the characteristic of the lowest of the people. Of his friends and colleagues the Prince generally writes, or rather speaks, with enthusiasm : for he appears to have dictated the greater part of the book to a secretary, in consequence of which, perhaps, it has all the ease and poignancy of private conversation. We consider it, indeed, as a treasure of anecdote.

“ The work bears internal marks of authenticity. It is written with great brevity, great carelessness, and great vivacity—in a tone of levity and occasional hardheartedness, that marks the man of the world—and with so much of the gay, familiar, and sarcastic manner of the genuine French wits, as frequently to remind us of the brilliant *Memoires de Grammont*.”

It may not be amiss to remark that the publisher has spared no pains to render this work worthy of a place in every library. The portrait of the illustrious author and the fac-simile of his hand-writing, cannot fail to prove a pleasing accompaniment, and to distinguish this as the *only genuine edition*.

## PREFACE

*TO THE WEYMAR EDITION.*

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WHOEVER has been acquainted with Vienna must know that the Count de Canales resided in that city, near thirty years, as the minister of the King of Sardinia. One of his daughters is there married to the Count de Hardegg, grand-huntsman, and one or two others are canonesses. In the interval which followed the death of Prince Eugene, and preceded the coming of the Count de Canales, the prince's niece and heiress, married to the Prince of Hildburghausen, possessed an excellent house, and kept a kind of little court in the prince's garden, now known by the appellation of the Belvidere. There the Count de Canales was introduced the day after his arrival; she soon became attached to him, not only as the minister of the king, her cousin, but also as a very agreeable and

well-informed man. The Memoirs of Prince Eugene were yet fresh ; he circulated in society many of the expressions, sarcasms, and anecdotes contained in them.

The Count de Canales was a great collector. An editor of that class who at the present day impose upon the living pretended relics of the dead, would have abundant opportunity to make the latter say whatever he pleased. I know not whether the Count de Canales committed to writing what he learned from very recent tradition ; but nothing of the sort was found among his papers. It was among those of another person, that what is here presented to the public was discovered, and in the following manner.

The Princess of Hildburghausen, after relating a great deal concerning her uncle, said to him :— “As to his military transactions, you must excuse me ; but here is a short sketch of them, written partly by the hand of the prince himself, between his last campaign and his death. Do not keep it ; read it with attention, and then return it to me.”

I imagine that the Count de Canales was in no great hurry ; at least so much is certain that the manuscript was still in his hands when the princess died, I believe in 1752 or 1753.

It was not thought of for a great length of time. Count O'Donel, general of cavalry, and uncle, after the fashion of Bretagne, to the Count O'Donel, who is at present at Vienna, told me that he had read it.

For upwards of twenty years the Count de Canales passed all his evenings with the celebrated Metastasio and the Baron de Hagen, who died president of the Aulic Council, seven or eight years ago. Sometimes the graver classics were the subjects of their conversation ; sometimes they culled the lighter beauties of the language and literature of every nation :

The Abbé Guasco, a friend of Montesquieu's, was admitted as a Piedmontese and a man of letters to the evening parties of the Count de Canales, whenever he returned from Paris or Tournay, where he had a canonry.

One day when all four were on the subject of history, Prince Eugene happened to be mentioned. "Here," said the Count de Canales, "is what I have collected respecting his private and military life; you shall hear it, but you must not carry it away. I will not give you the prince in *robe de chambre*; but I am desirous to shew him to you in helmet and armour," continued he, turning to the Abbé de Guasco, "for the instruction of your brother: he ought to study him; he will have occasion for it, since he has just been appointed quarter-master general of Marshal Daun's army."—This conversation must consequently have taken place in the month of February, 1757.

Many people still living can attest the accuracy of what I am advancing, and especially that of the dates, on which point I am particularly scrupulous. To one I venture to appeal, if he be yet alive, as I hope, for two years ago he was recovering from a severe illness at Moron, a small town in Tyrol, whither, driven from Italy, I, unhappy emigrant, repaired with my slender baggage. Should he be dead,

his daughter is not ; she was promised the appointment of canoness at Halle. She will not refuse to certify the truth of what I say ; for she was present at my conversations with her venerable father, aged ninety two, M. de Ferraris, major on half pay, formerly aid-de-camp to the Count de Guasco, general of infantry.

The reader will begin to trace the descent of the work which I have printed, and to perceive in what manner it has found its way before the public. Want of money on my part, the curiosity of an old soldier, gratitude for my attentions on his part, and the indifference of a dying man to all that is passing around him : this it was that procured me this magnificent present, which he made me with a voice scarcely audible. Besides, nothing was to be sold in a little town of the Tyrol ; there are no buyers. The kind M. de Ferraris gave or suffered those around him to take what they pleased. Some of his old friends, half-pay officers like himself, took possession of his books ; an Austrian general employed at Inspruck of his maps ; and I, though I

never expect to have armies to command, fell upon a manuscript whose title rendered it valuable to me. The letters are made long and narrow in this manuscript, the authenticity of which may be ascertained by comparing it with his signature at the Aulic Council of war, at Vienna, of which a copy is subjoined. It is very remarkable that the German character and orthography were both unknown to him, and that he signed his name in three different languages. It was in this manner, which I defy any person whatsoever to disprove.

Wlasscheniquaer  
Dienar  
Eugenio Von Savaye

For the rest, it is only the conversations which he had with different persons, the reflections, and the last year that are in his hand writing. He appears to have dictated the rest to a secretary.

This Major Ferraris was a man of great merit; he possessed the confidence of his general, whose dangers he shared, and whose operations he seconded at the siege of Schweidnitz in 1762. He contributed the more towards it, as he frequently reconciled the differences that took place between M. de Guasco and M. de Gribeauval, a celebrated French engineer—differences which invariably occur between officers whose authority is not accurately determined; and he inherited all the plans and books belonging to his general; on his death as a prisoner, a year or two afterwards I believe, at Königsberg. Having become possessed of this manuscript, I put into the hands of George Conrad Waldburg, printer and bookseller at Klagenfurt, where the curious may examine the handwriting of Prince Eugene, and thus have an

opportunity of ascertaining its authenticity. The following is a copy of his acknowledgment of the receipt of this valuable manuscript.

“I acknowledge with gratitude that Monsieur N...., a French emigrant officer, has put this manuscript of Prince Eugene’s into my possession.

“GEORGE CONRAD WALDBURG.

“Klagenfurt, January 1st, 1807.”

I know not whether some person in the chancery of the prince might not possibly have taken a copy of this excellent work, which may have furnished the outline of the history reprinted at Vienna, by Briffant, in 1777. I cannot tell what the author meant by this expression: “I had an opportunity to avail myself of what was written by Prince Eugene in the German language.” Did he intend to assert or to make people believe that the prince wrote in German? I have shewn above that he was not sufficiently acquainted

with the language for that. I think it was a Monsieur Lazzay, or a Monsieur Rousset, who was the author or printer of a history in five volumes.

In the style of the prince will be found a military air, which well accords with his physiognomy and his actions. Another proof of the authenticity of this manuscript is the garrulity of age which it exhibits; repetitions which a professed author would have avoided, negligences which a man of letters would not have committed; in a word, there is no part of it but what betrays the military man. The tone which pervades it would be ill adapted to any other character, but may be allowed in a soldier, whose style is not always excellent, and sometimes too familiar. That of the prince, such as it is, is clear and concise; so was also his conversation, as I have been told by the Prussian General Lentulus, who retired to Neufchatel, where he died at a very advanced age. He had served under him in his last campaign on the Rhine, whither he had accompanied the great Frederic, then

prince royal. Here is abundance of facts, dates, and names, which may be confronted ; my name alone shall not be made public.

## PREFACE

### OF PRINCE EUGENE.

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THERE are, as I have been told, several Italian and German manuscripts concerning me, which I have neither read nor written. A flatterer, whose name is Dumont, has printed a large folio volume, which is entitled: *My Battles*. This gentleman is extremely bombastic; he panegyrises me at the expence of Turenne, who according to him would have been taken at Cremona in 1702, or killed at Hochstett in 1704, if he had been opposed to me. What stupid stuff!

Some historians, good or bad, will take the trouble to enter into the details of my youth, of which I scarcely remember any thing. They will not fail to speak of my mother, a little too intriguing to be sure, driven from the court, exiled from Paris, and suspected, I believe, of witchcraft, by people who were no great conjurors. They will tell how I was born in France, and how I left it burning

with fury against Louis XIV. who had refused me a company of cavalry, because, he said, I had too weak a constitution ; and an abbey, because I pretended (on I know not what stories respecting me current in the gallery of Versailles), that I was fitter for pleasure than for the church. No Huguenot expelled by the revocation of the edict of Nantes ever cherished a stronger hatred against him. When therefore Louvois, on hearing of my departure, said : " So much the better, he will not return to this country again," I vowed that I never would except as a conquering enemy, and I kept my word.

I have entered it on more sides than one ; and it was not my fault that I did not penetrate farther. But for the English, I should have given law in the capital of the *grand monarque*, and shut up his Maintenon in a convent for life.

MEMOIRS  
OF  
PRINCE EUGENE.

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1683.

NEVER was the court so dull as this year. I did wisely to leave it. This was the period of Louis the Fourteenth's devotion, occasioned by the loss of his two sons, the Comte de Vexin and the Duc de Vermandois, Colbert, and the queen.

His most Christian Majesty, who, previous to his being so religious, assisted the Christians in 1664 against the infidels, having now become eminently pious, excited them against

the emperor, and encouraged the Hungarian rebels. But for him neither the one nor the other would have advanced to the gates of Vienna. That he might not appear to countenance them, he durst not absolutely forbid the young princes of the blood to go and signalize themselves in this war. I went with them, weary of being called the little Abbé of Louis the Fourteenth. He was very fond of me. It was, perhaps, from motives of conscience that he had refused me the abbey. I was not desirous of shining either in the church or at court; I was perfectly satisfied with my reception in society; but I wished to distinguish myself in war. Accordingly at twenty I was in the service of Leopold the First, who knew nothing of the matter. He had fled from his capital, both at the siege and at the battle of Vienna. I thought at first sight that I should learn my business better about the person of the Duke of Lorraine, and Prince Louis of Baden, than with the two electors of Bavaria and Saxony. Both the former led me many a dance from one attack to another, and sent me with orders into the hottest places.

The Duke of Lorraine, I was told, employed none but generals, in battle, to carry or even to change an order, if necessary. I was sensible of this honor, and he appeared satisfied with me. The confusion of that day can be but confusedly described. Sobiesky attended mass, with his arms crossed in the church of Leopoldsberg. The Poles who had clambered up thither, I know not why, went down again like madmen, and fought like lions. The Turks, encamped on the spot where I threw lines up in 1703, not knowing which way to front, having neglected the eminences, behaved like idiots.

The emperor returned; I was presented to him. Not being yet familiarized with German manners, I was much amused with his haughty interview with the King of Poland. As a volunteer I was one of the foremost in the pursuit of the Turks.

We lost no time; and Kuffstein being dead, I was rewarded with his regiment of dragoons on the 11th of December. Three months, to a day, after that signal victory, I was the hap-

piest of men, and was serving under the Duke of Lorraine.

1684.

Having with him taken Vicegrad, Gran, and Weitzen, and fought a glorious battle near the latter place, we had a still more important engagement near the Island of St. Andrew. It is said that I made a very fine manœuvre at the head of my regiment, and that this put the Turks to the rout. They were cut to pieces without mercy. The Duke of Lorraine had secured his centre by a morass, his left by the Danube, his right by an impassable mountain.

We now laid siege to Buda. Many destructive sallies were made by eighteen thousand men; twelve thousand arrived, and waited for the coming up of twice or thrice that number to attack us. The Duke made haste to beat them, and had the goodness to write to the emperor that I had contributed most towards it. Prince Louis of Baden was ready to eat me with caresses.

The siege was pushed with vigor ; visiting the trenches by the side of the Prince of Salm, I there received my first wound from a ball through my arm.

It was thought that a favorable moment for a general assault had arrived ; it proved unsuccessful. The assailants were repulsed in every attack. Some altercation or other took place among the principal generals. This is often occasioned by the persons about them. Scandal finds its way into head-quarters as well as into ordinary society. At length, having lost thirty thousand men, the Duke of Lorraine raised the siege on the 1st of November.

At Vienna this furnished occasion for many animadversions and many absurdities. One supposed that our failure proceeded from the want of good engineers. No, said another, 'tis owing to the malice of Guido Stahrenberg, against whose advice the siege was undertaken. A third asserted that it was the result of the mismanagement of the commissariat, or of the ministers in withholding

supplies of all necessities from the besiegers, with a view to diminish the influence of the Duke of Lorraine, of whom they were jealous. For my part, being yet a very insignificant person, and for that very reason in favor with every body (which is no uncommon thing when one is very young), I retained the friendship of my two masters, Lorraine and Baden, though the latter fell out with the former, seconded by the elector, who was equally attached to me ; and I went to spend the winter at Vienna, where I experienced the most flattering reception.

1685.

The marriage of an archduchess with the Elector of Bavaria retarded the opening of the campaign. A pretty reason, truly ! The Duke of Lorraine went to reconnoitre Novi-grad. The princes of the blood of France and Lorraine, and the volunteers of their retinue, arriving from Paris, joined the escort. Armed with their pistols, they provoked the spahis, and some French heads were cut off

by Turkish sabres. I rescued the others with my dragoons, whom I brought up just at the right time. Delighted with finding myself again in the company of all these young people, who were my old friends, and too young myself to scold, I found no fault with them, but the Duke of Lorraine took that upon himself. He reprehended them severely, at the same time approving in his heart the ardent and impetuous courage of his cousins, Commerci, and Thomas de Vaudemont, who afterwards served under me with such distinction.

The trenches had been opened a month before Neuhausel; and just when an assault was about to be made on the covered way, we received intelligence that a seraskier had arrived with sixty thousand men, that he had retaken Vicegrad and besieged Gran. We marched thither, and he raised the siege on the approach of the Duke of Lorraine, who had left Caprara before Neuhausel. But observe what now happened.

The seraskier thought fit to take an ex-

cellent position. The duke contrived to acquaint him, by means of the country-people, that he had only twenty thousand men, and was retreating ready to die of fear. The honest Turk believed it. The duke halted in an amazingly strong position. I was in the centre, under the Prince of Baden, with my dismounted dragoons. The Elector of Bavaria commanded the right, in front of which the brave, hot-headed young fellows whom I have mentioned obtained permission, with some difficulty, to form a little squadron. They anticipated the Turks, who attacked them with prodigious fury and terrific shouts; but they were surrounded: our cuirassiers relieved them. The duke supported them himself, and was victorious with his wing, as was also the Elector of Bavaria with his, and Prince Louis in the centre, where I seconded him to the utmost of my ability. The Prince of Hanover, and the Count of Lippe, pushed the Turks into a morass. There were three or four great battles in one. The seraskier received a wound in the thigh; he plucked up his beard by the roots, because he was obliged to fly.

We were again before Neuhausel on the 19th of August. A breach was made. Commerci, followed by the young volunteers, was the first to mount the walls; and with the Baron d'Asti hoisted upon them the imperial colors. The pacha and the garrison were put to the sword. The seraskier burned and demolished Novigrad, Vicegrad, and Weitzen; and as for me, I set off to spend the winter at Vienna.

1686.

It was on this occasion that the Prince of Baden, taking me by the hand, said to the emperor: "Here, sire, is a young Savoyard ...." Modesty forbids me to repeat the rest. The mismanagement of the last year was a warning for the present: we were admirably supplied. The 13th of June the Prince of Baden and I began the siege under the Elector of Bavaria. All three joined in an assault upon an important tower, of which we made ourselves masters.

From this tower on the 26th of July we

battered the castle of Buda in breach: we fully expected to gain possession of it, but were disappointed. Thirty thousand Turks made a sally. I had a horse killed under me. Twice we penetrated, sword in hand, into the castle, and twice we were repulsed. Prince Louis and myself were wounded. A Stahrenberg, a Herberstein, and a Kaunitz were killed; and we were obliged to defer the general assault till another day. Unluckily I was not at it, being ordered to guard the lines, which were threatened by a numerous army; a charge of consequence, indeed, as I was told. But the accursed Grand Vizir, quiet on a height, not daring to attack me, I know not why, saw with more coolness than myself this most important place taken and plundered before his face.

Prince Louis and I went, by the command of the Duke of Bavaria, and took Fünfkirchen, Calveza, Simonthorna, Kaposwar, and Sicklos; and afterwards burned the bridge at Esseck, which was six thousand paces in length, and twenty-four in breadth. The army then took up its quarters for the winter.

I went to spend the carnival at Venice with my dear volunteers and French princes, and so did almost all the other princes in our army, and a great number of generals.

There almost all of them fell in love; the Duke of Mantua did still worse, for he was quite a libertine; I was neither the one nor the other, and was highly diverted at seeing that prince as brave with the Venetians as he was cowardly with the Turks.

The Elector of Bavaria was so tender, that he would have disgusted me of being so, had I been ever so well inclined. The ease with which his heart was affected communicated a fickleness to his mind, in regard to his opinions and resolutions; and from that time I considered (as I have since found with justice) great intrigues as insipid, ridiculous, and calculated for idlers, and little ones far from reputable.

Morosini entertained us wonderfully well. We had, every day, charming and magnificent fêtes, on shore or at sea. On these occasions

I saw women more enterprising than generals. As all things have an end, I went to pass the rest of the winter at Vienna.

1687.

It was at this time that the Duke of Lorraine crushed the enemies of Jesus Christ and his own, in the army and at court, in which number I was not, though in high favour with the Elector and Prince Louis, who belonged to that party. The duke marched to attack the Grand Vizir: his prudence was equal to his valour: he had recourse to the one as well as the other. Having advanced too far, considering the excellent position of the Turks (for they entrench themselves in an astonishing manner as soon as they arrive), he was not ashamed to retreat. This is a ticklish business with such devilish fellows. I covered with my dragoons the march of the rear; and preserved it from injury by charging, several times, the spabis who annoyed me. After some time the affair became more serious. Ligneville, Thungen, and Zinzendorff were killed. The Duke

of Lorraine drew up fortunately and skilfully, with his wings well supported, near Mount Hersan. The Duke of Mantua, who clambered up it, beheld in safety the whole engagement in the same plain of Mohatz, where King Louis had perished. This excited the general laughter of the soldiers, who, thanks to him, ran merrily to meet death. The enemy advanced to attack us: both sides fought with fury. Piccolomini being almost beaten, was supported by the brave Elector. His artillery did execution: my dragoons took advantage of it, and I had the happiness to pursue the Turks to the entrenched camp. Having stopped a moment to survey them, I ordered my dragoons to leap into it; some on foot, the others on horseback with me. It is said that I was the first: it is true that I took a crescent there, and planted the imperial eagle. This was probably the reason that I was dispatched with the news of this victory to the emperor. He gave me his portrait surrounded with diamonds. I had reached Vienna in a very few days; after spending three there, I returned in a very few more to the army, where I was also extremely well received; for at that

time, apparently, I had too little merit to have enemies.

History, I hope, will record the glorious conduct of Commerci at the battle of Hersan. Nothing of consequence afterwards occurred; and the campaign being quite over, I found a very brilliant winter at Vienna, on account of the coronation of the King of Hungary. The Duke of Lorraine, and several other generals, also repaired thither. Some intrigued, others amused themselves : I was among the latter.

1688.

A colonel at twenty, and major-general at twenty-one, I was made lieutenant-general at twenty-five. I conducted a reinforcement to the Prince of Baden in Sclavonia, and returned with great expedition, because it was intended to besiege, or rather to storm Belgrade. The command of the five points of assault, on the 6th of September, was given to other generals. I complained of this:—" You shall remain with me in reserve," re-

plied the Elector ; “ and in this I think I am neither taking nor giving you a bad commission. God knows what may happen ! ” He had guessed the result : all the assailants were repulsed. Sword in hand this brave prince and myself rallied and cheered them : I mounted the breach ; a Janissary cleft my helmet with a stroke of a sabre ; I ran my sword through his body ; and the Elector, who had the preceding year received a musket-ball in the hand, was again wounded with an arrow in the right cheek. Nothing could be more brilliant or more sanguinary. How strangely one may find amusement amidst scenes of the greatest horror ! I shall never forget the appearance and grimaces of the Jews, who were compelled to throw into the Danube the bodies of twelve thousand men, killed on both sides, to spare the trouble and expence of burying them. I set out for Vienna.

1689.

Deeply did I regret not having remained with the army ; then, perhaps, people would

not have thought of me or of my name. At length, after the finest defence in the world, I sacrificed my glory to my zeal—a sacrifice not a little painful. My three superior officers, masters, and friends, Lorraine and Bavaria, were gathering laurels in the empire, and Baden in Hungary, while I was sent to Italy as a negociator. The French ambassador at Turin was not the dupe of my journey, undertaken, as it was given out, to see my family and the Duke of Savoy. He knew him, as well as I did, to be *sordid, ambitious, deceitful, implacable*, fearing and detesting Louis the Fourteenth, not attached to Leopold, but not bearing any personal enmity to him; always ready to betray both, and led away by his mistresses and his ministers into any thing that was not connected with political affairs.

Being unable, for this reason, to accomplish my purpose by means of either, I addressed him frankly as follows:—"Cousin, you will always be the slave of your mortal enemy, if you do not declare for the Emperor, who will confer on you the rank of royal highness and generalissimo; and give you whatever you conquer

in Dauphiné and Provence; and while you keep your intentions secret till every thing is ready, you may take your side."

This, indeed, was working upon him by means of the four predominant qualities which I have underlined above.

"When and where shall I conclude this treaty?" said Victor Amedæus. "Not at Turin, for the French ambassador would have suspicion of it."—"At Venice," I replied. "The ensuing carnival, the Elector of Bavaria, who, like your royal highness (I began to give him this title without delay), is fond of amusement, will meet you there to sign it. This I answer for; and from this time I trust to you to write to the King of France, to employ evasions and excuses, to promise and to gain time."

The four motives of all his measures which I have mentioned, assuring me of his conduct, but not his good faith, which I did not guarantee for any length of time, I gave my word to the emperor, on my speedy return to Vi-

enna, that this time my cousin would be on our side. Leopold thanked me much, and rewarded me with permission to go and see the conclusion of the siege of Mentz, defended by D'Uxelles, which had then lasted six weeks. I arrived just in time for the attack of the covered way, where I received a musket-ball, and returned to Vienna.

1690.

Twenty thousand crowns a month from England, twenty thousand more from Holland, four millions for the expences of the war, a kind of subscription among all the petty princes of Italy, had more effect than my eloquence, and converted the Duke of Savoy, for some time, into the staunchest Austrian in the world. His conduct, which I shall not attempt to justify, reminds me of that formerly pursued by the Dukes of Lorraine, as well as the Dukes of Bavaria. Their geography prevents them from being men of honor.

The emperor's ministers promised me seven

thousand men to go to the assistance of Victor Amedæus. I knew with what tardiness orders are given and executed at Vienna ; and eager to engage the French, whom I had never yet seen opposed to me, I went to join the Duke of Savoy, in his camp at Villa Franca. “ You are just in time,” said he ; “ I am going to give battle to Catinat.”—“ Be cautious what you do,” said I ; “ he is an excellent general, and commands the old troops, the flower of the French army ; your’s are new levies, and mine have not yet come up.”—“ What signifies that ?” rejoined the duke ; “ I know the country better than Catinat : to-morrow I shall advance with my army to the Abbey of Staffarde.”

Instead of making the attack, we had to sustain it. The right wing, under the Duke of Savoy, was attacked in front : that of the French crossed morasses which were believed to be impassable, and having turned and beaten ours, both their wings united and fell upon our left, where I commanded. I made my retreat in as good order as I could, and in my rear-guard, composed of gendarmes and the life-guards of Savoy, I was slightly wounded by a

spent ball. I did not chuse to remind my dear cousin of his presumption or my prediction ; but I endeavoured to retrieve matters a little, at least, in regard to glory : for some time afterwards I had the good fortune to intercept a large detachment which had pillaged Tivoli. It fell into an ambuscade, from which, hearing the French coming, and singing to the utmost stretch of their throats, I sallied out and cut them to pieces. I scolded my soldiers severely for treating all the prisoners *à la turque*. They had forgotten that it is usual to give quarter to Christians. I proceeded to chastise my old acquaintance the Duke of Mantua, the hero of Hersan, who had formed new connections. I then took my leave of the Duke of Savoy, who had lost every thing but Turin, and set out for Vienna.

1691.

I availed myself of my influence to conduct reinforcements to the Duke of Savoy ; but on my arrival I surprised him giving a secret audience to a French emissary. “ Why was I denied

admission?" said I to him as I entered. "Who is that man?"—"I acknowledge," said the duke, quite disconcerted, "that I am negotiating a little, by means of him, with Catinat : but it is with a view to deceive him the better. 'There,'" added he, "is his letter, and copies of mine."—"I imagine," said I, "that you nevertheless intend to retain the considerable subsidies which I procured for you? 'Tis very embarrassing for your royal highness." I watched him more narrowly than ever, well knowing whom I had to deal with. I saved his honor for this time, and contributed to his glory at the expence of his plans, by tricking Balonde, who was besieging Coni, and who, in consequence of a letter, which, as I foresaw, would be intercepted by some French party or other, raised the siege. Catinat recrossed the Po. I charged his rear : he was there in person, and performed prodigies, both as a general and a soldier. I had but a few squadrons with me. Catinat, who was stronger than I, animated his men by his presence. I suffered my ardour to get the better of my judgment ; and pushed forward so far into the

combat, that after receiving several balls through my clothes, a French horse-soldier was going to blow out my brains with a pistol, when he was dispatched by a dragoon of my regiment, who was as highly pleased as myself, for I was much beloved by those brave fellows. Reinforcements poured in to us from all sides; I went and took Carmagnole, where all my soldiers again behaved rather too much *à la turque*: but I made some examples. Catinat manœuvred most wonderfully; he would have beaten us, had we not retreated. Langallerie even gained an important advantage over our rear, and it was this that afterwards induced me to take him into the service of the emperor.

I accompanied the Elector of Bavaria, who had also been on our side in this campaign, to Venice, and again beheld with pleasure my old acquaintances. More amours, and for me too had I been so inclined, husbands but too complaisant, who wished me to procure the dismissal of cicisbeos, whom they disliked; too many Potiphars, to whom I acted

the part of Joseph, because I had other matters to attend to. At the beginning of January, I returned to Vienna.

1692.

I was very soon sent back to watch the motions of my Catinat, but more especially those of the Duke of Savoy. To keep him steady, I carried him the appointment of generalissimo, with which he was highly pleased. He would have marched immediately to attack Catinat, under Pignerol: all his generals and those of his allies acquiesced in this intention, but I was far from approving it. "Catinat is a skilful commander," said I to him. "If he is beaten, he will have reinforcements; if he beats us again, farewell to Italy. Let us oblige him to give up his conquests by a good diversion, which will humble the great Louis; let us amuse him in this country, and penetrate into Dauphiné in spite of all the obstacles of the passes."

My opinion prevailed: I went and took Quillestre and Embrun: there I received a

contusion on the shoulder, in the trenches by the side of the Duke of Savoy ; and Commerci a ball which knocked out three of his teeth. There too I lost Leganes and fifteen hundred men ; but at length I was in France. I then made myself master of Gap, and the Duke of Savoy would have marched by way of Sisteron to Aix, and perhaps to Lyons, without the least difficulty, but for the small-pox, which saved France and reduced him to the brink of the grave. By his will he appointed me regent of his dominions. The duchess on her arrival finding him not so ill as he had been, carried him with her to Turin. Stopped by this unlucky accident, which caused us to lose a great deal of time, and by the perplexity of his generals, who, not being exactly acquainted with their master's real intentions, knew not how far they ought to obey me ; I was obliged to lead back the army by the same road, for Catinat was waiting for us near Briançon.

“ At least,” said our soldiers, “ we have revenged the atrocities of the French in the Palatinate, without doing it in their way ; we

have plundered pretty handsomely, and raised a million in contributions." There were cuirassiers who staked twenty louis on a card.

"Why did the king banish my mother?" said I to Commerci: "I have been expelling from their homes several thousands of his subjects." The order of the Golden Fleece was sent to me at Turin; and on my arrival at Vienna, I was made field marshal; ten years after my entrance into the service. I was delighted, as may easily be conceived, but grieved that Commerci was still but a major-general.

1693.

Victor Amedæus designed to take Pignerol, and wait for Catinat in the plain of Orbassan. I dissuaded him from this plan. "At least," said I, "since you intend to fight near La Marsaille, make yourself master of the height of Piosasque." He was exasperated at the burning by way of reprisals of La Venerie, a

seat of his own, and another belonging to his minister St. Thomas, and sent a message to the French, that he would no longer give quarter to their soldiers. This point was already but too well settled.

Catinat displayed on that day all his talents, and the Duke of Savoy his usual valor. The former, in possession of the height, had every advantage over both our wings, cut up, at the same time, in flank by his artillery. What could I do in the centre? I fought successfully enough for some time, but overwhelmed on either side, I retreated as honorably as I could. Catinat disapproved of the fury of his troops, who cried out: "Let us too treat the Germans *à la tartare*."

It was impossible to determine whether this unaccountable duke wished or did not wish to gain the battles which he fought; but these two were a warning to me; and as it was known that I had advised him against them, I was on that account not the less in favor with the army, the city, and the court. It was then, however, that I began to perceive

that I had enemies. Caprara was the first ; he was jealous of me without occasion, for he possessed merit. He was at the head of the Austrian and Spanish cabal, which strove to torment me all my life, but which I always laughed at.

## 1694.

I went to Vienna to solicit reinforcements. I obtained them, but very late. Italy had ceased to be *à la mode*. Turkey, the empire, and the Low Countries, were more thought of. The ministers had no money : I returned to the Duke of Savoy, and said to him on my arrival : — “ You cannot give me the slip this campaign at least, cousin : the siege of Casal shall be the pledge of your conduct : if you have no objection, let us begin it immediately.” “ ’Tis indeed what I wish,” replied he, “ but it will be very long ; in my opinion it will be better to blockade that fortress the whole winter, that we may reduce it in spring.” “ At least,” said I, “ let us take the Castle of St. George,” and accordingly it was taken. What

a dull campaign ! and what a strange man is my cousin !

### 1695.

I obliged him at length to form the siege. The snow forced us to abandon it till the end of June : I pushed it on briskly when I was in the trenches. Prince Charles of Brandenburg, relieving me there one day, received a musket-ball through his body. Crenon at length capitulated, and I would have laid siege to Pignerol. Every day new pretexts were made to oppose it, under the appearance of agreeing to the measure : we went into winter quarters. What a dull campaign ! and what a strange man is my cousin !

### 1696.

He lost no time. To get away from the spies upon his conduct, whom I had left at Turin, thinking the carnival of Venice likely to excite suspicion, he contrived a journey to

our lady of Loretto. It was, he said, in performance of a vow which he had made in the small-pox. Knowing the pilgrim to be any thing rather than devout, I soon discovered that he had there met the agents of the pope, the Venetians, and the French, and learned the conditions of the treaty. "I have already told you," said I, to him, on his return to Turin, "that I watched you more closely than Catinat: you will not deceive me again." "'Tis hard," replied he, "to be suspected by a relation." Scarcely had I left his closet, when I was informed of the publication of his truce with the French; and determined not to do him the honor of speaking to him again, I expressed my indignation in the severest letter I ever wrote in my life. Commerci, more hot-headed, sent him a challenge: the duke had accepted it, and was going to the place appointed for the meeting, but was prevented by his ministers and generals.

He now threw off all restraint. He acknowledged that without wishing to be at war with any body, and desirous of putting an end to hostilities in Italy, he had concluded a treaty

of neutrality with Louis XIV. and that since the allies refused to accede to it, he would join the French. Catinat and the Duke of Savoy began operations by laying siege to Valence. The generals of the allies and myself, finding, after this junction, that we were too weak to resist, and fearing for the Milanese, accepted the neutrality; and each, after evacuating Italy, returned either to Germany, or to wait for the French on the other side of the mountains.

Disappointed in the field and in negociation, I returned to Vienna, to acquaint the emperor with my melancholy situation, and that of our affairs. He observed that I had nothing to reproach myself with, and as a proof of his sincerity, he gave me the command of his army in Hungary. "For the rest, sire," said I, "since I still have Italy at heart, the only way to have the Duke of Savoy on our side is for him to declare against us. He will behave in the same manner to the French, and in a short time come over to us again."

Louis XIV. supposing perhaps that I was

discontented, or that others were dissatisfied with me, sent me a proposal to pass into his service. I gave a pretty reception to the person commissioned to speak to me on the subject, and who, I am sure, durst not transmit to him my answer such as it was.

1697.

The Turks are never in a hurry. The grand signor, Kara Mustapha, himself did me the honor to arrive at Sophia, with his army in the month of July. I collected mine at Verismarton; I called in Vaudemont and Rabutin, as it appeared to me to be the grand signor's design to make himself master of Titul, that he might be able to lay siege to Peterwaradin. I encamped on the 26th of August at Zenta. General Nehm was attacked. I arrived too late to his assistance, but nevertheless praised him, for he could not have held out any longer, overwhelmed as he was by numbers. God be thanked, I never complained of any one, neither did I ever

throw upon another the blame of a fault or misfortune. Titul was burned. The grand vizir remained on this side of the Danube, which it was necessary for the grand signor to cross before he could lay siege to Peterwaradin; but marching along the bank of the river, and concealing my intention by my skirmishes with the spahis, I got before him, passed the bridge, and thus saved the place. This march, I must own, was well conducted, and equivalent to a victory. I entrenched myself with great dispatch, and the enemy durst not attack me. Among some prisoners whom we took, there happened to be a pacha, whom I questioned in vain respecting the designs of Kara Mustapha; but four hussars, with drawn sabres, ready to cut him in pieces, extorted the confession that the enemy at first intended to make an attempt on Segedin; but that the grand signor having afterwards changed his mind, had already begun to cross the Teisse; and that great part of the army under the command of the grand vizir was still in good entrenchments near Zenta. I was marching to attack them, when a cursed

courier brought me an order from the emperor, not to give battle under any circumstance whatever.

I had already advanced too far. By stopping where I was, I should have lost part of my army, and my honor. I put the letter in my pocket, and, at the head of six regiments of dragoons, approached so near to the Turks, as to perceive that they were all preparing to pass the Teisse. I rejoined my army with a look of satisfaction, which, I was told, was considered a good omen by the soldiers. I began the engagement by charging myself two thousand spahis, whom I forced to return to their entrenchments. A hundred pieces of cannon annoyed me greatly. I sent orders to Rabutin to advance his left wing so as to form a curve with it towards the right: and to Stahrenberg, who commanded the right, to do the same towards the left, with a view to take in the whole entrenchment by a semicircle. This I could not have ventured to do before Catinat, who would have interrupted me in so slow and so complicated a movement. The Turks, however, gave me no molestation.

They attacked my left wing too late; yet they would have handled it roughly, but for four battalions of the second line, and the artillery, which I sent very opportunely to repel their cavalry, and make a breach in the entrenchments. It was six in the evening. The Turks, assaulted, and their entrenchments forced in all points, hurried in crowds to the bridge and choked it up, so that they were obliged to throw themselves into the Teisse, where those who escaped drowning were killed. On every side was heard the cry of *Aman! Aman!* which signifies *Quarter!* At ten at night, the slaughter still continued; I could not take more than four thousand prisoners, for twenty thousand were left dead on the field, and ten thousand were drowned. I did not lose a thousand men. Those alone who first betook themselves to flight at the commencement of the battle, rejoined the corps which had remained on the opposite side of the river. It was the 11th of September: I sent Vaudemont with the account of this affair to Vienna. I then went and took two forts and two castles in Bosnia, burned Seraglio, and returned to Hungary into winter-quarters.

I set out for Vienna, where I expected to be received a hundred times better than I had ever yet been. Leopold gave me the coldest of audiences; more dry than ever, he listened to me without saying a word. I instantly perceived that somebody or other had been at work during my absence, and that while I was ridding myself of the Turks, some good Christians at Vienna had been trying to get rid of me. I went away from the audience with a feeling of indignation, which grew still stronger when Schlick, in great consternation, came and demanded my sword. I delivered it into his trembling hand with a look of the profoundest disdain, which served to increase his dismay. It was reported that I said: "Take it, yet reeking with the blood of enemies; I have no wish to resume it, except for the benefit of his majesty's service." One half of this sentence would have been a gasconade, and the other a mean resignation. My rage was silent. I was put under arrest in my hotel. Here I was soon informed that Gaspard Kinsky, and some others, wished me to be brought to trial for disobedience

and rashness, and that I was to be tried by a court-martial, by which I should probably be sentenced to die. This report was soon circulated through the whole city. The people assembled about my house ; deputies from the body of citizens offered to guard me and to prevent my being taken away, in case of any design to put the above mentioned design in execution. I entreated them not to violate their duty as loyal subjects, nor to disturb the public tranquillity ; I thanked them for their zeal, by which I was moved even to tears. The city of Vienna is small. This assemblage of the people was known at court in a few minutes. Either from fear or repentance, the emperor sent me my sword, with the request that I would still continue to command his army in Hungary. I replied I would, on condition that I should have a *carte blanche*, and be no longer exposed to the malice of his generals and ministers. The poor emperor durst not publicly give me these full powers, though he did privately in a note signed with his own hand ; and with this I thought proper to be content.

This anecdote of Leopold, whom I pity for not having felt that a more signal reparation was due to me, fully demonstrates the falsehood of a saying which has been ascribed to me; that of the three emperors whom I have served, the first was my father, the second my brother, and the third my master. A pretty sort of a father truly, to order my head to be cut off for having saved his empire!

I must turn my eyes another way to look for energy. Behold it in the north. Charles XII. King of Sweden, at the age of fifteen, is the mediator of peace between the European powers. It was signed at Ryswick on the 21st of September.

1698.

In consequence of this, my army received reinforcements from that of Germany: nevertheless the Turks were four times as strong. I was disappointed of gaining

another battle at Zenta. In vain I marched and countermarched ; the infidels every where entrenched themselves. I then retreated to induce them to leave their holes : all my endeavours were fruitless. I would have marched into Bosnia ; but they had received a reinforcement of forty thousand Tartars, and all the passes were guarded. I would have invested Temeswar ; but they would have obliged me to raise the siege. Before they could have time to assemble for this operation I thought I should be able to make myself master of the place by intercepting a prodigious convoy on the point of entering it. I marched thither myself at the head of cavalry, placing my infantry in ambuscade. A hussar who deserted occasioned the failure of this attempt. This was the most wretched campaign for my glory that ever I made in my life. I executed only thirty ringleaders of a plot to revolt, formed by seven regiments, which, having received no pay for four months (for the court left me destitute of money) had resolved to go over to the Turks. On

the 26th of January, the peace of Carlowitz was signed, that as usual, war might be carried on elsewhere.

1699.

I sent back my army, and set out for Vienna. This year I began my fine library, and conceived a passion for gardens and palaces.

I purchased, from time to time, some beautiful cabinet paintings and drawings that were not known. I was not rich enough to form a gallery, and was not fond of engravings, because other persons may possess the same. I never liked copies of any kind, and those talents which run away with valuable time. A few wind-instruments, martial airs, hunting-tunes, flourishes of trumpets, or pleasing airs of comic operas, relieved me, during dinner, from the necessity of speaking or listening to tiresome persons.

1700.

A century of continual war was now at an end ; the celebrated peace of Westphalia in 1648, which was to extend to all Europe, had not accomplished its object. The good advisers of Leopold, and Leopold himself, not corrected by my example, would have brought Prince Louis of Baden to a court-martial for his campaign on the Rhine. Salm and Kaunitz were the only honest men who opposed this measure ; they would, however, have been overpowered but for me. Influenced as much by justice as by consanguinity and intimate friendship, which I retained for him through my whole life, I loudly censured the proceeding, at the same time shewing that I had not forgotten Zenta.

After the peace of Carlowitz, France was so polite as to send us M. Villars as her ambassador. He was received with great distinction by all those with whom he had been acquainted in Hungary, where he had

gained great reputation as a volunteer, and by the whole city, who thought him extremely amiable. But intrigues were carried on at his court against ours without his knowledge. He was highly astonished at the coldness with which he was all at once treated. Notwithstanding the friendship of the king of the Romans for me, I could not prevail upon him to relax in this respect. "Of what use," said I to him, and to the courtiers and generals who followed his example, "is this personal antipathy, which M. Villars does not deserve? I shall see him, and continue on friendly terms with him, till we begin to fire upon one another again." Prince Louis of Baden acted in the same manner, though we were not the better liked for it. We all three parted very good friends. We missed his company much; for when Louis XIV. had at length completed all his machinations, and thrown off the mask, he departed. Previous to this we had the following conversation:

"It is not my fault," said he, "if, without knowing how to suppress your rebellion

in Hungary, you are determined to make war upon us. I had rather your highness would do like those gentlemen who have turned their backs upon me here, as they will do elsewhere, if I command an army." This was truly a sally *à la Villars*. "You hope perhaps that the Turks will interfere, because the abbé Joachim has predicted that the empress will have twins, one of whom shall sit on the throne of Constantinople." "I am not angry with you, M. de Villars," replied I, "for in your correspondence, which to be sure is a little in the light French style, you have transmitted to your court a portrait of me drawn by the hand of friendship ; but there are people who complain of certain inadvertencies, and the court of having read in one of your dispatches : 'We shall see if the Christ in Leopold's chapel will speak to him as he did to Ferdinand II. He is there still, I have seen him with my own eyes.' Private individuals never forgive a satire ; judge then of the effect which a sarcasm must produce upon a sovereign." "It is only with great reserve in conversation," said he, "that I have sup-

ported myself in this country. I am angry with your Austrians, who, among the tales which they invent concerning me, assert that I conspired with Ragotzi against the person of the emperor." "I can tell you," answered I, "what gave rise to this stupid idea. People recollected an expression in a letter intercepted while you were a volunteer in our service: 'I am an Austrian with the army, but a Frenchman at Vienna.' This implies a great deal, said the fools. No conspiracies have ever been formed against our emperors; they have never been assassinated. We have no Clements or Ravail-lacs. The people are not enthusiasts, as with you, but for that very reason, they do not run into extremes. Crimes indeed are very rare in Austria. Last year some persons wanted to persuade Leopold that a design had been formed to kill him because a ball went through his hat while hunting. 'Seek the man,' said he, with his Spanish air; 'he is a bungler one way or other; he is dying of fear or of hunger; give him a thousand ducats.'

1701.

The war being on the point of breaking out afresh on account of the Spanish succession, a great council was held on the subject. I gave it as my opinion that the Archduke should be immediately sent to Spain, and that an army should enter Lombardy. It was rejected by Leopold's honest advisers; but they had reason to repent it. Prince Louis was appointed to the chief command in the Empire as I was in Italy.

I had thirty thousand good veteran troops. The Duke of Mantua, having a French garrison placed in his capital, I know not whether with or without his consent, pretended that it was a commencement of hostilities on the part of Catinat: this afforded me a pretext for beginning mine.— But a word or two respecting this Duke, of whom I have already made mention. Formigha was almost his prime minister. The Abbé Fantoni, his lord of the bed-chamber,

sometimes provided him courtezans, like one Mathia; sometimes a mistress, like the Countess Calori; and at others a wife to secure him in the interest of Louis XIV. like a Condé or an Elbœuf, furnished by the king. Both of them, being gained by France, prevented his marrying an Aremberg, who would have rendered him favorable to us. The Duke had nevertheless a seraglio guarded by eunuchs. Never was there seen so strange a creature.—Thanks to him, however, I was now in the full career of war, after ten days of incredible labor among mountains and precipices with two thousand pioneers; and part of my subsequent success was already decided because I did not respect the neutrality of the republic of Venice.

Catinat, having received from his court positive orders not to violate that neutrality, could not oppose my entering the Veronese. On leaving the Trentino, I sent my excuses by a major to the most Serene Republic, and continued my march. Catinat was waiting for me at another place, where I should have had defiles to pass through, and have

been beaten, but for the expedient not the most delicate, indeed, which I had adopted. This was a proper case for urging imperious circumstances, misunderstanding, and the uncertainty of a general permission in a republic, as an excuse, and I failed not to avail myself of it. By passing the Adige and the Po, I induced Catinat to extend his army; I attacked and routed St. Fremont at Carpi. Tessé came to his relief and prevented his total destruction, which would have been inevitable had not the roads stopped Commerci with my cavalry. I nevertheless put to flight those two generals, cut off from Catinat, who was waiting for me at Ostiglia, and while pursuing and charging them at the head of the cuirassiers, I received a severe wound from a musket-shot in my left knee. Having joined Commerci, Catinat durst not give me battle, or rather go on with that which had been almost one continued action. He took advantage of the night to cross the Mincio. I followed him from the other side of the river, because he had not had time to call in all his detachments; and the Duke of Savoy, who began his old tricks,

had not thought fit to send him his troops. Catinat retreated upon Chiesa and thus was I master of all the country between the Adige and the Adda, excepting Mantua. I had kept up a regular correspondence with Victor Amedæus, with whom I had a notion that I should be able to do something. One must employ artifice in Italy. I bribed a Franciscan of Mantua, and he gained over the whole convent. Under the pretence of confessing us in our camp, the monks carried arms away with them under their clothes to dispatch the guard at the nearest gate, which they were to open to my soldiers disguised as peasants, one day when I was to go with a large retinue to hear mass at Notre Dame de Grace. They had likewise gained the inhabitants; but being discovered and disarmed, they were punished as they deserved, and thus my scheme was frustrated.

The Duke of Savoy, satisfied with having again become generalissimo, and married his daughter to the Duke of Burgundy, repaired to the army of the two Crowns.

I paid him my compliments out of respect, and made him a present, out of friendship, of some beautiful Turkish horses, some of the spoils of Zenta. He ventured to accept but one. Louis XIV, angry because I had deceived Catinat, did me the great favour of putting the ignorant and presumptuous Villeroy in the place of one of the best generals that France ever had. When the Duke of Savoy proposed to undertake any thing, and said to him "I am generalissimo:" Villeroy would reply, "I have orders from the King." So indeed he had to seek me wherever I might be, and to engage me. My cousin had the kindness to apprize me of this. I wanted Chiari for the head of my camp: the Venetian commandant talked to me about neutrality, but I told him that was a thing I only laughed at. He requested me to accept his protest, and I signed just what he pleased. The enemy outwitted me; I was his dupe this time I must confess. Prawntal with all the drums of the army made such a noise at the bridge of Palazzuolo, that the corps destined to prevent the passage of the Oglio continued there, and the enemy

crossed in another place. I took a position so as to front on three sides. The generous Catinat, instead of rejoicing to see his commander beaten, said to him : " Do not fight ; let us retreat." The Duke of Savoy, on the contrary, who wished Villeroy to get a sound drubbing, said, " Fight ! let us attack ! Catinat is timid, you know."

On the 1st of September, on my left my post of Chiari, notwithstanding its excellence, was nearly forced by the unparalleled impetuosity of the French : the houses, mills, and all were already carried. Never did I witness such valor. Daun drove them back. My right, concealed on the ground behind an entrenchment, suddenly started up and fired when the enemy had advanced quite close. Villeroy ordered an attempt to be made with the centre ; but this scarcely ever succeeds when the wings are beaten.

The worthy, the admirable Catinat rallied the troops, led them back to the attack, and received a severe contusion on the breast, and a shot in his hand. As for Victor Amedæus,

he was every where ; he exposed himself like the most determined of the soldiers, and had a horse killed under him. What a singular character ! This time he wished to lose the battle ; but habitual courage stifled the suggestions of policy.

Notwithstanding the loss of the combined army, it was still much stronger than mine. I again took a good position ; the two advantages which I had gained had somewhat lowered the presumption and lofty tone of Villeroy. The only actions now fought were between the advanced posts and small detachments. Mine always had the advantage, because my spies, to whom I often gave three hundred ducats for a trifling piece of information, apprised me of the slightest movement. The only thing to be done was to decamp ; the first who should break up ran the risk of being beaten, and it was nevertheless absolutely necessary to go into winter quarters.

My horses were destitute of provender ; dead leaves were given them to eat : my men

fell away perceptibly, but were attached to me, and endured their hardships with patience ; while Villeroy's, who likewise suffered, but in a much less degree, deserted by hundreds. I set an example of temperance and patience. To relieve our *ennui*, my Vaudemont formed a plan for carrying off his father from his quarters. Awakened by the discharge of a musket, he escaped in his morning-gown, and this attempt of filial piety miscarried. So did my scheme too ; for Catinat stole away under favor of the night from his camp, and repassed the Oglio. Deceived, or rather ill served on this occasion, which was nevertheless of great importance to me, I hurried thither in spite of the darkness, and instead of destroying Villeroy, only took from him four hundred prisoners, and to be sure did some execution on the other side of the river with my artillery, which followed me at full gallop.

The French, dying of hunger and fatigue, went into cantonments. The Venetians would not give me any in the Bressano. To fight with the prospect of being beaten, and to

retire into Tyrol, appeared to me to be equally hard. Whither was I then to go for the winter? Judging the most hazardous step to be the most prudent, I threw myself into the territories of Mantua, took by assault Canette, the ancient Bedriacum, thanks to one of Daun's men, who amidst a shower of shot cut the rope of a draw-bridge, and afterwards made myself master of Mascaria, Rodolesco, and the bridge of Gazolo.

Two little disasters befel detachments of mine, I know not whether through my fault, or through the fault of Drack, who commanded one, or of Mered, who commanded the other. The latter was taken prisoner, and was just going to be put to death by way of retaliation when he was saved by a French officer. He had fallen into an ambuscade formed by Tessé, who had left Mantua upon this expedition, which did him honor. I gained possession, notwithstanding, of all the Mantuano, excepting Goito and Mantua, which I blockaded. I know not whether it was the heart or the understanding of the Princess of Mirandola that pleaded with her

in my behalf; but she gave a grand supper to all the principal French officers to afford me an opportunity of surprising the place. I took Berulo in spite of the Duke of Modena, who made believe to oppose me. The Duke of Parma absolutely insisted that my troops should not enter his dominions: I laughed at his protestations and those of the Pope, whose vassal he called himself. Guastalla had already surrendered to me, and after having thus set to rights all these petty princes of Italy, I occupied three of their provinces to give rest to my troops during the whole winter.

## 1702.

To myself alone I allowed none; I posted from one quarter to another, and observed with pleasure the negligence that prevailed among the French. "I must," said Villeroy, "make these three princes dance the rigadoon during the carnival." This excited in us a desire to anticipate him by surprising Cremona, by Commerci on one side, and Vaude-

mont on the other. The latter lost his way in the night : one of my detachments had entered by a sewer ; I was already master of one of the gates of the city, the barracks, and some streets. These lines, put into the mouths of the French soldiers, record the rest of the story, which is besides perfectly well known :

By the favor of Bellona,  
And Fortune's smiles most liberal,  
We again have found Cremona,  
And have lost our general.

Villeroy, taken by our soldiers, who had thrown him down from his horse, without hat, without wig, and without sword, so that it was impossible to know him again, said to Macdonnel, " I am the Marshal ; save me, and I will give you a regiment of cavalry and a pension of two thousand crowns." The streets were dyed with blood. To put an end to all these petty conflicts, I sent Commerci to ask Villeroy to order them all to cease, and the French to surrender. He had the good sense to reply : " Who would obey a prisoner ?"—And when he saw Crenau, who had been killed, carried along, he observed :

"I envy his fate." I repaired to the town-house to rouse the citizens. Mahoni said to one of my officers: "Quarter for M. Friedberg!"—" 'Tis not a day for mercy," replied the latter; "do your duty and I will do mine,"—and Friedberg was killed. Our soldiers, and in particular the cuirassiers, with whom I was not perfectly satisfied on the score of courage and order, were repulsed on every side. Before they were completely driven out of the city, I went to see Villeroy, whom I could not help pitying. I sent him off to Inspruck, and issued orders for a retreat, which it would have been extremely difficult to effect, if Crequi had cut me off from the rest of my army. I admired the valor of the French, roused from their sleep, and half naked, every where making the most determined resistance, and also the intelligence of their officers. In this qualification mine were extremely deficient. I had the glory of surprising and the disgrace of not keeping what I had gained: but when you are unsuccessful, 'tis much the same as if you had made no attempt. I went to invest Mantua more closely: its duke was dying of fear and famine,

notwithstanding all the exertions of Tessé, who behaved most admirably: he had even the address sometimes to deceive my parties, while he introduced supplies of provisions into the city.

The able, the intrepid, the good, the amiable, the generous, the dexterous discoverer of his enemies' projects, sometimes indiscreet respecting his own, the affable, the indolent Vendôme came to succeed Villeroy. On his arrival he made several movements with his army: I did the same with mine, clearly perceiving that it was his intention to attack me, or to relieve Mantua. The court of Vienna not having given me a sufficient number of troops, either out of malice, or from the want of means, this outset of Vendôme's was highly brilliant: he took from me all my small towns and all my communications. I entrenched myself wherever I went; and the better to watch his motions, I took a camp very near his.

Churlish people have found fault with me for the attempt to seize Vendôme in his house at Rivalto, on the banks of the Lake of Man-

tua, where he had his head-quarters, made by Davia, whom I sent for the purpose with fifty men in boats. One of his soldiers killed the sentinel, whom Davia had directed to be carried off. The guard hastened to the spot. Davia re-embarked, and did wrong to order his men, as they were coming away, to fire at Vendôme's windows.

In the first place, in war *let him trick the other who can* ; and in the next it was doing him an honor ; for Catinat himself would not have executed his manœuvres with such rapidity. At any rate he was soon even with me. Vendôme caused twelve pieces of cannon to be placed on a height, and ordered them to play upon my house. I rose, for it was ready to tumble about my ears. Commerci's was burned by the red-hot balls, and others battered down; the tents of my guard were pierced, and about a hundred men killed. This I thought perfectly simple, but rather long, for the cannonade lasted three hours, though I never complained of it.

Unwilling to remove any farther from Man-

tua, I raised the entrenchments of my camp to the height of twenty feet. Who would believe that I had learned something from the Turks, and that the Turks had learned something from the Romans? This practice must, I should think, have been transmitted to them by colonies of that people, like the Etruscan forms of vases and pitchers, which are to be found in every cottage. I return to my subject.

I could not boast of the smallest advantage over Vendôme. A large detachment to watch him, commanded by Visconti, who had three horses killed under him, was surprised and beaten. Commerci, though with nothing but his boots on his bare legs, arrived too late, and without being obliged to go, for he was ill. I plainly perceived that I must raise the blockade of Mantua, collect all my detachments and little garrisons, and give battle with my twenty-six thousand men. I marched toward the Seraglio, and Vendôme to Luzara, from which place the little garrison that I still had there retired to a tower. From the Seraglio I went and crossed the Po, at the com-

commencement of the canal of Zero, and concealed all my infantry behind a great dyke, near the spot upon which the enemy had fixed for his camp. At the moment when the combined army, deceived by my spies, was just about to enter the place, we were discovered by the greatest of accidents. I ordered my soldiers to climb the dyke; they scrambled up as well as they could, and I rushed upon the enemy, who had not time to form in order of battle. My cavalry, with fascines, which I had given them for the purpose, made a passage to support my infantry. The gallant Commerci, my dearest friend and my best general, fell while engaging the left wing. Lichtenstein took his place, and was likewise killed. Langallerie rallied that wing and repulsed the victors, afflicted by the loss of their officers. They returned to the charge, and recovered their ground. Meanwhile my left wing was beaten. Stahrenberg rallied it. Vaudemont came to its assistance, and performed prodigies. I was successful in the centre, notwithstanding the presence of Vendôme, who was also in the centre of his army; and yet I should have been defeated, had I not remarked that part

of my cavalry, hitherto of no use, as was likewise that of the allies, from the nature of the ground, might, by crossing some ditches of no great breadth, and passing through some copses, by no means thick, decide the success of my left, and ensure mine. It would seem that it is lying upon the field of battle which renders the victory certain. It was apparently out of politeness to the King of Spain that Vendôme ordered *Te Deum* to be sung. I was informed that the Duke of Mantua was by the side of that king during the whole battle, which gives me a high idea of his prudence. As for the Duke of Savoy, he had none of that kind of prudence; he fought in his usual way, but displeased every body by his subtlety. He had been ill received when he repaired to the army of Philip V. who left it two days after the battle, and returned to Spain. Before I abandoned Mantua entirely, I attempted to gain admission into the city by means of my clandestine agents, but was again disappointed. A deserter prevented my being taken when on the point of falling into an ambuscade. I had done all that I could do: I had gained some glory and lost a great deal of ground. It was

not my fault : only consider the superiority of Vendôme's army, which was double the number of mine. Of all my posts I retained Ostiglia alone ; and yet I would not go into winter quarters till I had seen the French into their's. I sent Solari to cover the Trentino, and set out for Vienna, where I had not been for two years.

## 1703.

The emperor made me war-minister instead of Mansfeld. I told him that war could not be carried on without troops and money ; that for six months the men had received none, and been in want of every necessary. I wished the other commanders to be better supplied than I had been ; and this was accordingly done. I put a stop to the peculations committed in every department. I said to the emperor, " Your army, Sire, is your monarchy ; without it your dominions will yet fall a prey to the Turks, the French, or perhaps one of these days to the Hungarians. Your capital is a frontier town. Your Majesty has no for-

tress on any side ; every one is paid excepting those who serve you. Make peace, Sire, if you cannot carry on war ; and it is evident that you cannot without the money of England. What are your ministers doing, to take no advantage of the hatred against France, and to embroil you with all Europe, even with your own subjects ? Besides, if your Imperial Majesty does not give me orders to bring over entirely to our side the Duke of Savoy, who is half gained already, you will never be fortunate in Italy." I carried my point. This was the only ministerial success I met with this year ; and my only military success consisted in repulsing the Hungarian rebels so smartly as to prevent any farther alarm at Vienna, and to save Presburg. Though minister at war, I could not even give myself the army which Leopold had promised me, and was unable to do any thing farther.

1704.

This was no great deal indeed ; but at last, as I had foreseen, Caroli, at the head of

the malcontents, entered the suburbs of Vienna on Easter Sunday. I know not why they were afraid, and did not proceed to the court; for I found it a difficult task to collect the little garrison and the citizens, whom I posted behind an entrenchment which I ordered to be hastily thrown up at St. Mark's, and which was afterwards continued on the right and left to the Danube. The few troops that we had between Vienna and Presburg, and between Presburg and Raab, had been dispersed. In vain I begged that reinforcements might be sent to them. Owing to this lesson, some were given to Heister, who cut off the retreat of the scouts that had been to Vienna, and defeated the detachments coming to their aid. I went myself into Hungary to conduct the war for a moment, and then to conclude an accommodation with Ragotzi, Berezeni, &c.

Leopold could never bear to hear plain truths but when he was afraid. Where is the mistress or the friend to whom they can be told with impunity—much less a great sovereign, spoiled by slaves, who accompany him every day to church, but not his generals to

war. In urgent cases I requested an extraordinary audience of him, as if I had been the ambassador of some foreign power, and this I obtained but very seldom.

“ Forced levies, once more,” said I; “ militia, a loan in Holland, which is good for nothing else. Few taxes, but a kind of capitation, and no bounties to monks and courtiers, though the court itself ought always to be magnificent. Of what use is it, in conferences with monied men, who are acquainted with the resources of states, and the specie of different countries, to read memoirs to be discussed before your Majesty? They laugh at our finances, while, for my part, I weep over them. Try to find out, if possible, a Colbert in your dominions.”

What I obtained was the power of negotiating quite alone, and I gained over to our side Queen Anne and Marlborough. I went to meet him at Heilbronn, to concert measures with him and Prince Louis of Baden, whom I had not seen for a considerable time. I took upon myself the defence of the lines of

Behel, and left them to follow Tallard, who was endeavouring to join the Elector of Bavaria. If I am not fortunate enough to prevent their junction, thought I, the worst that can befall me is to fight both together, which will save me the trouble of engaging them separately. Tallard and Marsin had two other sorts of presumption than Villeroy, and more understanding. The presumption of the one was founded on the victory gained by him at Spire; that of the other on the divine protection, which, by the cabals of the pious, had certainly proved as beneficial to him as the patronage of the court. Tallard was as short-sighted morally as he was physically. Marsin was more clear-sighted, possessed more talents, but luckily no prudence.

Had they exercised patience, without fighting me, they would have obliged me to abandon Bavaria, for I had no place in that country where I could form my magazines, except Nordlingen; but these gentlemen were in a great hurry, and the elector was furious at the pillage which I had suffered Marlborough

to commit, and who, in consequence, became my firm friend. We sincerely loved and esteemed each other. He was indeed a great statesman and general.

They had eighty thousand men, and so had we. Why were the French separated from the Bavarians? Why did they encamp so far from the rivulet which would have embarrassed us in the attack? Why did they place twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons in Blenheim? Why did they scatter so many troops in other villages? Marlborough was more fortunate than I in his passage of the rivulet, and his fine attack. A little steepness of the bank occasioned my being half an hour later. My infantry behaved very well, but my cavalry very ill. I had a horse killed under me. Marlborough was checked, but not repulsed. I succeeded in rallying the regiments, which were shy at first, and led them four times to the charge. Marlborough, with his infantry and artillery, and sometimes with his cavalry, cleared away that of the enemy, and took Blenheim. We were beaten for a moment by the *gendarmerie*, but

at length we threw them into the Danube. I was under the greatest obligations to Marlborough for his changes in the dispositions according to circumstances. A Bavarian dragoon took aim at me; one of my Danes fortunately anticipated him. We lost nine thousand men; but twelve thousand eight hundred French killed, and twenty thousand eight hundred taken prisoners, prevented them this time from singing their usual *Te Deum* for their defeats, which they never acknowledge. I wrote to the King of Prussia to inform him of the gallant conduct of Anhalt and his corps.

The poor elector, with his corps, joined Villeroy, who had marched to favour his retreat. They mournfully embraced. "I have sacrificed my dominions for the king," said the former, "and I am ready to sacrifice my life for him." The duke and prince (for Marlborough was now created a prince of the empire), Louis of Baden, and I, went to amuse ourselves at Stuttgart. The second took Landau, the first Trarbach, while I narrowly missed the two Brisachs: the one

because the governor of Fribourg mistook his way, and the other from the false delicacy of the lieutenant-colonel, whom I had directed to enter as a courier with some others, and who being unable to endure a caning from an overseer of the works of the place, ordered him to be fired upon. This was indeed insisting very unseasonably on a point of honor, and the only occasion on which a man might, without disgrace, receive a thrashing. Had we succeeded, he would rather have been envied than reproached for it. I proceeded to Ingolstadt, which was on the point of surrendering, but was prevented by the valour of a French regiment, composed of brave deserters in the Bavarian service. They disregarded alike my promises and my threats: but astonishing them by the generous offer of sending them home under an escort, that nothing might happen to them, they evacuated Ingolstadt; and with the exception of Munich, all Bavaria was our's, thanks to the treaty which I concluded with the electress. The conditions were hard; she refused them; but by means of father Schuhmacher, a good Jesuit, her confessor,

I prevailed on her to sign them, and set out for Vienna.

1705.

Feeling for the condition of the Duke of Savoy, who had again become a staunch Austrian, and not being supported by the Court of Vienna, had been reduced to the brink of ruin; I represented it to the emperor. "Well," said he, "take him reinforcements, and command the army in Italy."—"Sire," I replied, "I remember my last campaign, in which, being left without money and without troops, either through stupidity or roguery, malice or jealousy, I was made to relinquish the blockade of Mantua, to lose all the towns which I had taken, and to derive no benefit from my victory at Luzara. They intercepted my letters to your Majesty, and want to compromise my honor. I would rather lay all my employments at your feet, and retire I know not whither to spend my life in peace. Here are twenty-two years of active service—the last ten of court storms and mor-

tifications. I did hope to reconquer one half of the Spanish succession, but notwithstanding my victory at Hochstett, I am still in fear for your Majesty's dominions, which would have been lost, had I been defeated."

Leopold promised me twenty-eight thousand men, punctually paid, and in want of nothing. I would not set off till they were gone, and proceeded to Roveredo. Mirandola had just surrendered: I entered the Bressano. Vendôme marched to attack me, but having been prevented by me from occupying the height of Gavardo, he durst not. There it was that I heard of the death of the emperor; I had a greater love for Joseph I. who succeeded him; but, as the son is almost always the reverse of the father, I was apprehensive that he would abandon the Duke of Savoy, for whom I was indeed responsible. So far from it, he wrote to me to continue, and immediately sent me one hundred thousand florins for the payment of the troops.

Leopold possessed good qualities, but I know not why some Spanish and Austrian

flatterers have tried to call him Leopold the Great. The attempt to be sure has not succeeded. He detested the French to such a degree that he forbade a single word of that language to be spoken at his court. I helped myself out with Italian, with which I am better acquainted than with German, though I find no difficulty to understand and to give orders in that language.

Vendôme went away into Piedmont, and directed his brother, the grand prior, to starve me in my camp at Gavardo, in order to oblige me to quit the Bressano. I attempted to dislodge him from the villa of la Couline, an important post. This led to a combat unparalleled for courage and resources; seven grenadiers defended the pigeon-house. Had Wirtemberg set fire to the villa immediately on his arrival there, he must have been successful. The grand prior came to its relief: not daring to risk a general engagement, I attempted the passage of the Oglio. This was absolutely necessary, for the Duke of Savoy had nothing but Turin

left. I succeeded, but how? I was obliged to employ artifice upon artifice, and to avail myself of the indolence of the grand prior, whom I knew to be foud of his bed, and to steal a march upon him under favor of the night. He strove, on rising, to retrieve this fault with incredible diligence; and when he had nearly overtaken me, I faced about to attack him. The position which he took made me afraid; and contrary to my custom I called a council of war, pretty certain that it would decide against an attack.

I suspected also that Toralba, the Spaniard, was not good for much. I drove him out of Palazzuolo, threatening to shoot him if he threw into the Oglio the provisions of which I was in the greatest want. He escaped to Bergamo. Visconti and Joseph of Lorraine, who were there wounded, came up with him, and instead of defending the height on which he was very advantageously posted, a few cannon-shot induced him to surrender with nine hundred men. Only imagine the rage and astonishment of the grand prior. Palaz-

zuolo and Ponte d'Oglio having surrendered, I advanced to cross the Adda, the only barrier of the Milanese.

I went and took Soncino; and learning that the French head-quarters were at Sole-sino, I said to my generals: "Albergotti has certainly joined the grand prior, and from this bold movement I would wager that Vendôme has come back to the army." Of this I was still more strongly convinced, when, having ordered the post of Quatorze Naviles to be occupied by Vetzels, Vendôme himself came to dislodge him. His grenadiers attacked the bridge, while other troops plunged into the water on the right and left to take my detachment on both flanks. Here was a display of valor, intelligence, and vivacity, the characteristics of the French soldier.

Vendôme wanted to fight, but I did not; my object was to go by the Mantuan to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy; Vendôme strove to prevent me. Vendôme, without being so negligent as his brother, had a little of his indolence. I stole a march upon him

during the night, and arrived in two forced marches on the banks of the Adda. I took possession of a magnificent country-house belonging to the Jesuits of Bergamo, called *Il Paradiso*. I had crossed the Adda quietly, but one of my waggons with pontoons broke down by the way.

The Adda, nearly a torrent at that moment, was not easy to pass; its rapidity rendered it difficult to join the pontoons. Vendôme had time to come up; but a kind of amphitheatre composed of my grenadiers for the protection of the workmen, sickened him of the design to interrupt them. Colmenero, the Spaniard, apprised me of every thing. I determined to go and fight the grand prior; he decamped, though slowly, in consequence of positive orders from his brother. I intended to cross the Adda by the bridge of Cassano; Vendôme opposed me: each strove to outwit the other. I resolved to put an end to all this by a battle. I had been informed that Vendôme usually took a nap in the afternoon, from which no person durst awake him, for fear of putting him into an ill humor. Linange

made himself master of the villa and bridge of Ritorto; he was repulsed. I arrived there, recovered every thing, and penetrated the left of the French. Vendôme came up also with his gilded troop, which was thinned in a moment by our fire. He had a horse killed under him, and received a ball through his boot. I received a musket-shot in the neck, and notwithstanding the blood, which flowed copiously, I remained till a second ball below the knee obliged me to retire to get my wounds dressed. The defeat of the French would have been certain, could I have taken a redoubt. I sent word to Anhalt to put an end to a firing which galled me in the centre and on the left. Ardent and brave as he was, he plunged with his horse into the Ritorto, followed by the Prussians, who were up to the chin in water; he was wounded. Würtemberg did the same on the right, and was killed. The arms and ammunition of both having got wet, they were unable to return the fire of the French. They made themselves masters of the Castle of Cassano. Bebra, Rewentlau, and Joseph of Lorraine, a young prince of nineteen, fell while checking

the enemy, and firmly maintaining their ground on this side of the Ritorto, which they had been obliged to recross, and which the enemy respected as a barrier that I had appointed for him. He seemed to renounce all inclination to pass it, as I on my part gave up the passage of the Adda. If this can be called losing a battle, I acknowledge myself defeated. I went and took an excellent post at Trevigio. The self-termed conquerors were apparently in greater confusion than the vanquished, for not a creature approached my rear. These would-be victors lost more men than those whom they gave out to be conquered; they left me some standards and prisoners, and had thrown a great number of carriages into the canal. Though Vendôme had been joined by his brother, who had slept at Rivalto, two leagues from the battle, and was on that account sent away from the army, he applied for reinforcements to La Feuillade, because he thought that I designed to attack him. I did not indeed effect a junction with the Duke of Savoy; but by these reinforcements which I obliged Vendôme to require of La Feuillade, I frustrated

the plan for besieging and taking Turin. Did I lose the battle? I pretend not to decide the question. At any rate, I find no fault with myself for having fought it. A signal success would have rendered me master of Italy; and the want of success, which is different from a reverse, and which I may ascribe to my two wounds, did not prevent me from resorting to my old tricks all the rest of the campaign against Vendôme, and quietly taking up my winter-quarters behind the mountains at Cabsinato, Lunato, &c. Before I went into them, I had attempted some little enterprizes, all of which were frustrated by Vendôme. Not to be beaten by such a man is more glorious than to beat another. I set out for Vienna.

1706.

Marlborough arrived at Vienna. I had written to him that his presence would be necessary. I presented him to the emperor: how he was received may easily be imagined. He helped me to obtain assistance for the

Duke of Savoy. "Queen Anne," said he, "sent me for this purpose. We will lend your imperial majesty twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and I hope to beat the enemy in the Low Countries." He returned thither, and I to Italy. I arrived at Roveredo at the same time as the fugitives of my army, the command of which I had given to Rewentlau, who had just sustained a defeat at Cabsinato. I had but too well cured Vendôme of his indolence. Informed of my departure from Vienna, he had got the start of me in re-joining his army. He had counterfeited illness, and taken medicines before a great number of persons, as if he had actually been sick; but all at once throwing away his draughts, his *robe de chambre*, and his night-cap, he mounted his horse in the night between the 18th and 19th of April, for this superb expedition. I rallied the fugitives, and hastened to Gavardo to prevent Vendôme from cutting off my communication with the Trentino. Vendôme used astonishing dispatch in all his movements; I had great difficulty in getting away from him. Never had I yet so hard a task. I nevertheless con-

trived to make myself master of several posts, with a view to secure the bank of the Adige. This was highly requisite, in order to raise the siege of Turin.

Luckily, thanks to the discernment of Louis XIV. La Feuillade was charged with the conduct of the siege. The city had been very imperfectly invested; two posts were unoccupied. Vendôme was watching my motions from the other side of the Adige; it was, notwithstanding, absolutely necessary for me to cross that river. Another Venetian commandant took it into his head to refuse me a passage at la Badia. I ordered the gate to be broken open by my grenadiers, and perceiving that Vendôme was no longer with the army, having gone to Milan to resign the command to the Duke of Orleans, I first returned thanks to God for it, and without giving myself much trouble, I deluded the French, who were guarding three posts, and crossed the Adige, where they least expected me.

Tessé had lost Spain at Barcelona; Ville-

roy the Low Countries at Ramillies, and La Feuillade could not help losing Italy. I crossed the Tanaro and the Po. Vendôme had carried with him the love, the heart, and the spirit of the French. I passed the Secchia and the Canal of Ledo, and again thanked God for having taken Vendôme away from me. The Duke of Parma sent me compliments, forage, and allowances for the troops, in his dominions. The Duke of Savoy dispatched a lord belonging to his court to entreat me to come to him. He was unpleasantly situated with his little corps out of the city, the command of which he had left to Daun. To the former I wrote that all would soon end well; and to the latter that, intending to be at Nice de la Paille on the 30th of August, I would soon deliver to him in Turin, as a reward for his fine defence, the appointment of general of infantry, which the emperor had given me for him. I caused Goito to be taken by the Prince of Hesse, and Astradella by Kirschbaum. I marched only in the night, on account of the heat, by which we were greatly incommoded. I crossed the Bormida, and having rested on the 27th

quite close to the Tanaro, I entered Piedmont, at the place which I had mentioned to the commandant of Turin, two days earlier than I had promised him a fortnight before. I very quickly acquainted him with my arrival, at the same time ordering him to thank his brave garrison in my name. "That great calculator, Catinat," said I to myself, "and the active and rapid Vendôme (when it was necessary for him to be so), would not have suffered me to do all this." Once more I returned thanks to heaven, for when one is fortunate, one is devout. "Probably," said I again to myself, "the extensive power and shallow understanding of Marsin, counteract the abilities and valor of the Duke of Orleans." I went to join the Duke of Savoy, below Carmagnole, and our soldiers, when they saw us embrace, threw their hats into the air, shouting: "Long live Joseph I. and Victor Amedæus!" and I think I heard some cries too of "Long live Eugene!"

La Feuillade made an assault on the 30th, and was repulsed with great loss. The Duke of Orleans, more skilful than his two col-

leagues, wanted to march against me. Marsin told him, in the council of war, that probably I was only anxious to throw succours into the city: and that with the rest I should be a spectator of its fall. All the generals agreed in opinion with the Duke of Orleans. Marsin produced a paper signed by the king. The prince flew into a passion. "Gentlemen," said he, "I find that I have a tutor. Let my post-chaise be got ready, I shall be gone." He did not however depart, because he had a desire to fight. I sent Visconti to intercept a considerable convoy.

Turin had held out four months, and could resist no longer; we marched at length to its relief. The Duke of Savoy and I ascended a height, from which we beheld uncertain movements in the enemy's camp. "Those people," said I, "are already half beaten, cousin." All our artillery gave a tremendous discharge. The battle began; the Duke of Savoy and myself ran whithersoever we thought our presence needful. This time he fought in good earnest, and with all his heart, as one might be sure he would, since it was *pro domo*

*sua*.... The right wing was at first repulsed, because it could not attack so soon as the left. Anhalt set all to rights again with his brave Prussian infantry, and I at the head of some squadrons. For an hour and a half some advantages were gained on either side; it was a carnage but not a battle. Our troops at length leaped into the entrenchments of the French, but threw themselves into disorder in the pursuit. Three pieces of cannon, well posted, checked the carbineers, who, but for this, would have roughly handled my cuirassiers, and perhaps my infantry. In rallying the latter, whose character had been already somewhat slurred, one of my pages and a valet de chambre were killed behind me, and my horse, wounded with a carbine-shot, threw me into a ditch. I was thought to be dead, and it is said that for a very short time this produced some effect on the troops. The order which I gave when getting again on horseback covered with mud, dust, and blood, to Stahrenberg's regiment to pour a volley upon the French cavalry, relieved my infantry of the latter, and it maintained its ground in that part of the lines which it had forced. Their

centre stood firm. Reh binder was thrice repulsed by the Duke of Orleans, who received two musket-balls. It was the Duke of Savoy who at length forced his way in person into the entrenchments.

We were now enabled to give assistance to the Prince of Saxe Gotha, who performed wonders on the right, but could not succeed on account of the Castle of Lucento. The Saxons then leaped into the entrenchments, forced Pont Cassine, and in every quarter the victory was looked upon as won, when the enemy rallied and attacked us in the field of battle, of which we had just made ourselves masters. Daun, though pressed by La Feuillade, made a sally at this critical moment, and decided the victory. I know not how things might have turned out, if Albergotti had not been silly enough to remain a spectator upon the heights of the Capuchins with forty battalions. So much is certain, that, but for this, the most obstinately contested battle I ever saw might have lasted much longer; though, not expecting so stupid a procedure, I had troops in readiness to take him in flank, if

he had attempted to come down to me. This was the 7th of September.

My good fortune had decreed that Marsin, who fell in this engagement, should wait for me with his eighty thousand men behind his lines ; if he had come out to attack me first, and to turn me, I should have been a good deal embarrassed with my thirty thousand. I was under great obligations in this affair to two French officers, Bonneval and Langallerie, imprudent men, who turned out ill, but to whom I was then much attached for their bravery and intelligence. I had some influence with the Emperor Joseph, and had taken them as generals into his service. 'Tis a pity they turned out as they did : they pretended to be free-thinkers, who are almost always unsteady. The affectation of irreligion, is, independent of its foolish impiety, a mark of bad taste.

Before I gave myself up entirely to joy, fearing lest the discomfited besiegers should endeavor to cover the Milanese, I took out my perspective-glass, which I never use but

when I cannot approach near to reconnoitre ; and perceiving them flying rather than retreating, toward Pignerol, I said to the Duke of Savoy : “ Italy is ours, cousin.”

It may easily be imagined how we were received in Turin, where the little gunpowder left in the city was scarcely sufficient to fire a general salute of artillery during the *Te Deum*. “ This time at least,” said I to Daun, whom I cordially embraced, “ I think Louis XIV. will not order *Te Deum* to be sung at Paris.”

The day after the great battle, the Prince of Hesse was defeated in a little affair by Medavi ; but this did me no harm : I continued the pursuit. The Vaudois put the fugitives to the sword. We took Chivas, Novara, Milan, the citadel of which we blockaded ; Lodi, Pizzighitone, Tortona, Alexandria, Seravalle, and Casal. Proceeding thence to reconnoitre the post of Caracorta, I received a very severe contusion from a musket-ball, on my left arm,

1707.

Our generalissimo remained well pleased at Turin, while I went into winter-quarters : and both of us agreed to lay siege to Toulon, after we had taken the citadels of Milan and of Modena, and some other small posts, which induced Louis XIV. to make us an offer to evacuate Italy. We acquiesced on condition of his restoring something to the Duke of Mantua, Mirandola to its duke, and a good deal to the Duke of Savoy, as his compensation. Daun signed the convention on our side, and St. Pater on that of the French, on the 7th of March.

I know not what induced Joseph I. to send me to the Rhine instead of the Prince of Baden. I wrote to him that it was certainly a trick of my enemies, that it was contrary to my wish, and that I was in a fair way in this country. I did not indeed anticipate the failure of our plan against Toulon : we should

infallibly have taken that city, had we not been obliged to lose time in the conquest of Naples, where a conspiracy was formed in favor of the House of Austria. Two cursed cardinals, Grimani and Pignatelli, who were engaged in it, over-ruled the Duke of Savoy's opinion and mine; absent persons have but little influence at court. Louis XIV. would have been more mortified by the conquest of Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Provence. In vain did Tessé oppose our passage of the mountains: I passed them on the 4th of July, at the Col de Tende, and the Duke of Savoy, and the other corps elsewhere. We crossed the Var, marched to Frejus, and arrived before Toulon.

The Duke of Savoy directed me to carry the heights of St. Catherine, where I posted the young Prince of Saxe Gotha. The Duke of Savoy promised him a reinforcement of four battalions, if he should be attacked; but they could not reach him in time. Never did the French make so sudden and so furious an attack. This prince, who though but twenty years of age, was a lieutenant-general in the

armies of the emperor, of England, and of Holland, handsome and accomplished in every way, defended himself like a lion. He had already lost a great number of his men: two hundred were yet left him; these were reduced to thirty or forty, to whom he said:—"My friends, let us at least die like men of honor." He was instantly killed by two musket-balls. Works, entrenchments, batteries, were all ruined and carried. Every thing was to be begun again. I was inconsolable for the loss of the young prince; but I was somewhat comforted for the loss of St. Catherine's by the taking of the forts of St. Margaret and St. Louis. In secret, however, I said to myself: Of what use will this be to us? Tessé made excellent arrangements in the city, and I shrewdly suspected that the expedition to Naples, which had retarded the arrival of the English and Dutch fleet before Toulon, had frustrated our attempt. But such are cabinets, parliaments, states-general, and coalitions! We ought, as I had proposed, to have marched straightway to Toulon, after the expulsion of the French from Lombardy. Nevertheless, but for the bravery and talents of Tessé, and the

unfortunate affair in which my beloved Prince of Gotha fell, we should have been successful.

I left to the Duke of Savoy the honor of proposing to raise the siege, and took good care not to oppose him. I fully expected, as it turned out, that the English would accuse him of a secret understanding with the French. They were angry at having been put to so much useless expence; they ought to be forgiven. I wrote to Marlborough that they were wrong, and that this time the Duke of Savoy had by accident behaved most honorably towards us; but his conduct had not been exactly such towards the inhabitants of Provence, whom he had severely fleeced: he moreover caused their olive-trees to be cut down and pulled up by the roots, and took away plants and seeds to carry them to his own country. Detested as he was, he was often annoyed on his retreat: mine was executed with less interruption. On the 25th of July, my army arrived at Frejus; I prevented Medavi, who attempted to obstruct my march in the defiles and the passage of the Var, which I accomplished without molestation.

Vexed at having made a campaign without any success, I went and took Suza, the only place left to the French on this side of the mountains. I repaired to Turin to provide winter-quarters; to Milan to fix the contributions of the Italian princes; and to Vienna to settle the plan of operations of the ensuing campaign.

One ought not to appear dissatisfied at court: I hate grumblers, even though they have reason to grumble. From the closet ill-natured sarcasms find their way to the parlour, from the parlour to the dining-room, and thence, in consequence of the imprudent practice of speaking before servants, to the public-houses; all this afterwards produces upon the common people an impression that is liable to become dangerous. Being sure that Joseph I. would be embarrassed on seeing me, because he had not believed me; I observed, as I ought, a respectful, but likewise easy behavior towards him. He was gratified by it, and scolded me for having exposed myself too much. It is easy to imagine what answer I gave to this kind reproach. "You

have expelled the French," said he, "from Bavaria and Italy; go and drive them from the Low Countries. Rest yourself, and set off on the 26th of March for various courts, and set the coalition to work according to your wishes and mine."

### 1708.

On the 31st of March I was already at Dresden, and obtained a promise of king Augustus to send me a body of his troops. I then went to Hanover, and received the same promise from the elector. I proceeded to the Hague, where I cordially embraced Marlborough, who had come thither on the same business. We both pressed Heinsius and Fagel for assistance; assuring them, that to prevent the enemy from laying siege to the strong places, we would gain a battle as speedily as possible. I appeased, as well as I could, those gentlemen, who were dissatisfied, because the emperor had not made peace with the Hungarian rebels, nor appropriated to his own use the revenues of Naples, the Milanese, and

Bavaria. I went next to Dusseldorf, to pacify the Elector Palatine, who was likewise angry with the emperor Joseph I. respecting the Upper Palatinate. I returned to Hanover with Marlborough, to press the elector; went to Leipsic to urge King Augustus, whom I found there, once more; and after proceeding to Vienna to give an account of my successful negotiations, I was immediately sent off again to Frankfurt, to confer with the electors of Mentz and Hanover, and Rechteren, the Dutch minister. I circulated a report that this journey was undertaken for the sake of my health, and that the physicians had ordered me to use the waters of Schlangenbad. I said to all these petty allies, "It is your interest; a great emperor would live at your expence, if you did not exist, and would perhaps be better off on that account. If you do not protect yourselves by defending him, beware lest another Louvois lay waste the empire with fire and sword."

I have always taken for the foundation of my politics the interests of the persons with whom I had to do, and have detested court-

flatterers, who say, "These princes are personally attached to your majesty." It is thus that they strengthen the self-love of sovereigns, who, besides, like to be told "every thing is going on well, in the best manner, or is likely to be retrieved."

Villars was not duped by the prescriptions of the faculty for the cure of diseases, with which I was not afflicted. He wrote to a prisoner whom he sent back to me: "If you belong to the army which Prince Eugene is going to command, assure him of my respect. I understand that he is going to the baths on the 20th of June: but if I recollect right, he was not formerly so attentive to his health. We shall soon see what sort of baths he means to use." I assembled my army of Austrians and German allies at Coblentz, where I had a long conference with the Elector of Treves. The French had one hundred thousand men in the Low Countries; Marlborough had but sixty thousand. I received orders to march to his support: I directed my troops to proceed by forced marches, while I went post myself, fearful lest a battle should be fought

without me. Cadogan came to compliment me to Maestricht. He told me that the French had surprised Ghent, Bruges, and Plaskendall, and that my presence was wanted. I passed through Brussels, where my interview with my mother, after a separation of twenty-five years, was very affecting, but very short. I found Marlborough encamped at Asch, between Brussels and Alost; and learning that the enemy had their left on the other side of the Dendre, I asked Marlborough on my arrival if it was not his intention to give battle. "I think I ought," replied he immediately; "and I find with pleasure, but without astonishment, that we have both made the reflection, that without this our communication with Brussels would be cut off: but I should like to have waited for your troops." "I would not advise you to wait," replied I, "for the French would have time to retreat."

Vendôme wanted to dispute the passage of the Dendre. He told the Duke of Burgundy, whom bad advisers persuaded to march to Ghent: "When you perceive in Prince

Eugene a desire to avoid an engagement, he knows how to force you to one." This expression I saw in the vindication of his conduct, which he printed on his return to Paris.

Cadogan went to Oudenarde, and in a few hours threw a bridge across the Scheldt. "It is still time," said Vendôme to the Duke of Burgundy, "to discontinue your march, and to attack, with the troops which we have here, that part of the allied army which has passed the river." The duke hesitated, stopped on the height of Gavres, lost time, would have turned back, sent twenty squadrons to dispute the passage, recalled them, and said, "Let us march to Ghent." "It is too late," said Vendôme, "you cannot now; in half an hour, perhaps, you will have the enemy upon you." "Why then did you stop me?" rejoined the Duke of Burgundy. "To begin the attack immediately," replied he. "Cadogan yonder, is already master of the village of Hurne and of six battalions. Let us draw up at least in the best manner we can." Rantzau commenced the attack. He overthrew a column of cavalry, and would have been routed in his

turn, but for the electoral Prince of Hanover, who in the conflict had his horse killed under him. Grimaldi too early and injudiciously ordered a charge. "What are you doing?" cried Vendôme, coming up at full gallop, "you are wrong."—"It is by the Duke of Burgundy's orders," replied he. The latter, vexed at being contradicted, thought only how to cross the other. Vendôme was giving orders to charge the left. "What are you doing?" said the Duke of Burgundy: "I forbid it; there is an impassable ravine and morass." Let any one judge of the indignation of Vendôme, who had passed over the spot but a moment before. But for this misunderstanding, we should perhaps have been defeated; for our cavalry was engaged a full half hour before the infantry could join it. For the same reason, I directed the village of Hurne to be abandoned, that I might send the battalions by which it was occupied, to support the squadrons on the left wing. But the Duke of Argyle arrived with all possible expedition, at the head of the English infantry; and then came the Dutch, though much more slowly. "Now," said I to Marlborough,

“we are in a condition to fight.” It was six in the evening of the 11th of July; we had yet three hours of day-light. I was on the right, at the head of the Prussians. Some battalions turned their backs, on being attacked with unequalled fury. They rallied, retrieved their fault, and we recovered the ground they had lost. The battle then became general along the whole line. The spectacle was magnificent. It was one sheet of fire. Our artillery made a powerful impression; that of the French being injudiciously posted, in consequence of the uncertainty which prevailed in the army, on account of the disunion of its commanders, produced very little effect. With us it was quite the contrary; we loved and esteemed one another. Even the Dutch Marshal Ouverkerke, venerable for his age and services, my old friend and Marlborough’s, obeyed us, and fought to admiration.

The following circumstance may serve to prove our harmony. Matters were going ill on the right, where I commanded. Marlborough, who perceived it, sent me a rein-

forcement of eighteen battalions, without which I should scarcely have been able to keep my ground. I then advanced, and drove in the first line; but at the head of the second, I found Vendôme on foot, with a pike in his hand, encouraging the troops. He made so vigorous a resistance, that I should not have succeeded but for Natzmer, at the head of the King of Prussia's *gendarmes*, who broke through the line, and enabled me to obtain a complete victory.

Marlborough purchased his more dearly on the left, where he attacked in front, while Ouverkerke dislodged the enemy from the hedges and villages. Nassau, Fries, and Oxenstiern, drove the infantry beyond the defiles, but they were roughly handled by the king's household troops, who came to its assistance. I rendered the same service to the duke. I sent Tilly, who, making a considerable circuit, took the brave household troops, which had nearly snatched the victory from us, in the rear: but this decided the business. The darkness of the night prevented our pursuit, and enabled me to execute a scheme for

increasing the number of our prisoners. I sent out drummers in different directions, with orders to beat the retreat after the French manner, and posted my French refugee officers, with directions to shout on all sides:—*Here Picardy! Here Champagne! Here Piedmont!* The French soldiers flocked in, and I made a good harvest of them: we took in all about seven thousand. The Duke of Burgundy, and his evil counsellors, had long before withdrawn. Vendôme collected the relics of the army, and took charge of the rear.

As it was so dark that we had begun to fire upon each other, Marlborough waited for day-light, to attack the enemy before he reached Ghent. His detachment found him but too soon. Vendôme had posted his grenadiers to the right and left of the high-road, and they put our cavalry, which pursued them, to the rout. Vendôme by this saved the remnant of his army, which entered Ghent in the utmost confusion, with the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the Count of Toulouse. His presence stopped, pacified, and cheered the soldiers.

They all held a council of war at the inn called *the Golden Apple*. The opinion of the princes and their courtiers was, as usual, detestable. Vendôme grew warm, expressed his indignation at having been crossed by them, and declared that, determined not to be served in the same manner again, he should order the army to encamp behind the canal of Bruges at Lovendeghem. I pitied him from the bottom of my heart, as I had done the Elector of Bavaria, in 1704, and the Duke of Orleans, in 1706.

As I was sure that Marlborough could make no arrangements but what were excellent, I went the day after the battle to see my mother at Brussels. What tears of affection did she shed on beholding me again with some addition of glory ! I told her, however, that Marlborough's portion seemed greater than mine, as at Hochstett. The joy of revenge mingled a little in that occasioned by our victory. She was glad to see the king humbled, who had left her for another woman in his youth, and exiled her in his old age. It is remarkable that in her's she married the Duke

D'Ursel, without assuming his name. Nobody knew this: it could not have been a match of conscience or convenience, but probably of *ennui* and idleness. We could not help being rather merry on the subject of his former devices and his *Place des Victoires*.

The fifteen days which I thus passed with her, were the most agreeable of my life. I parted from her with the more pain, as it was probable that we should not see each other again. On the last day of my visit the troops from the Moselle arrived. We were then as strong as the French. I sent eight battalions to reinforce Marlborough's corps, which covered Flanders. I left the rest to cover Brussels, and rejoined him at the camp of Elchin. He, Ouverkerke, and myself, agreed upon sending a strong detachment to lay waste Artois and Picardy, and thus compel Vendôme to leave his camp. Vendôme, who guessed our intention, remained immoveable. I proposed the siege of Lisle: the deputies of the states-general thought fit to be of a different opinion: Marlborough was with me, and they were obliged to hold their tongues. The siege

was committed to me, while Marlborough was to cover it against the army of the Duke of Burgundy. The latter, with sixty thousand men, encamped near Pont des Pierres; and I, with forty thousand, after investing the city, took up my head-quarters at the Abbey of Loos, on the 13th of August. The brave and skilful Boufflers, with a garrison of sixteen battalions, and four regiments of dragoons, cut out plenty of work for me. The job, so far from being easy, was a dangerous one; for Mons was not in our possession. My first attack on Fort Catelen was repulsed; the works undertaken the same day, to drain a large pond which was in my way, also failed. I ordered epaulements to be made, for the fire of the place annoyed us to such a degree, that a cannon-ball carried off the head of the valet of the Prince of Orange, at the moment when he was putting on his master's shirt. It may easily be supposed that he was obliged to take another, and to shift his quarters. I opened the trenches, and on the 23rd the besieged made a sortie, when Lieutenant-general Betendorff, who commanded there, was taken prisoner. Boufflers treated him exceedingly well. The festival of St. Louis, which he celebrated with three ge-

neral discharges of all his artillery, cost us some men. In the night, between the 26th and 27th, the besieged made a terrible sortie; I gained the post of the mill of St. Andrew; Boufflers retook it; and I there lost six hundred men.

Marlborough sent me word that Berwick having reinforced the Duke of Burgundy, the army, now one hundred and twenty thousand strong, was marching to the relief of Lisle. The deputies of the states-general, always interfering in every thing, and always dying of fear, asked me for a reinforcement for him. I went to his camp to offer him one: he said, "Let us go together, and reconnoitre the ground between the Deule and the Marck." After we had examined it, he said, "I have no occasion for one, I shall only move my camp nearer to your's." Vendôme proposed not to lose a day, but instantly attack the army of observation, and the besieging force. "I cannot," said the Duke of Burgundy; "I have sent a courier to my grandfather to enquire his pleasure." Conferences were held at Versailles, and the king sent his booby Chamillard to his

grandson's camp ; he went up with him into the steeple of the village of Sedin, to view our two armies, and decided against giving us battle.

I cannot imagine how Vendôme could help running mad ; another, with less zeal, would have sent every thing to the devil ; and he, a better grandson of a King of France than the other, took the trouble, the day before, to go so close to Marlborough's position to reconnoitre, that he was grazed by a cannon-ball. I had returned to Marlborough's camp to be his volunteer, if he had been attacked.

But, while I think of it, a Chamillard, that is, in one word, a young prince of no character, and an old king who had lost his, were quite sufficient to fill Vendôme's heart with rage. He was obliged by them to retreat, as if he had been beaten. I continued the siege, sure of not being interrupted, and took the redoubt of the gate of Flanders, and some others ; but after three hour's fighting for one of the most important, I was driven back and pursued to my trenches. I scarcely stirred from them,

having the King of Poland and all my young princes at my side, for it was necessary to set an example, and to give orders. I directed two assaults to be made, to facilitate the taking of the covered way; always repulsed, but a horrible carnage. Five thousand English, sent me by Marlborough to retrieve my losses, performed wonders, but were thrown into disorder. We heard the cry of *Vive le Roi et Boufflers!* I said a few words in English to those brave fellows who rallied round me; I led them back into the fire; but a ball below the left eye knocked me down senseless. Every body thought me dead, and so did I too. They found a dung-cart, in which I was conveyed to my quarters; first my life, and then my sight was despaired of. I recovered both. The ball had struck me obliquely. Here was another unsuccessful attack; out of five thousand men, not fifteen hundred returned; and twelve hundred workmen were there killed.

Being prevented for some time by my wound from interfering in any thing, I left the command of the siege to Marlborough, who delivered his to Ouverkerke. He effected a lodg-

ment in a *tenaillon* on the left, but a mine baffled the assault and the assailants. Marlborough countermined some, and took all possible pains to spare me trouble on my return. He obliged me to dine in public, in order to cheer my army, and returned to his own.

The Chevalier de Luxembourg eluded me, and introduced ammunition, of which the besieged were in great want; and a captain, named Dubois, eluded me, and swam with a note from Boufflers to the Duke of Burgundy, informing him, that though the trenches had been open forty days, I was not yet completely master of any of the works. “Nevertheless, Monseigneur,” added he, “I cannot hold out beyond the 15th or 20th of October.”

I was in want of powder. A single letter from Marlborough to his friend Queen Anne, occasioned a quantity to be sent me, with fourteen battalions, by the fleet of Vice-admiral Byng, who landed them at Ostend. Every body is acquainted with the stupidity of La-motte, who not only suffered this convoy to

reach me, but got a sound drubbing for his whole corps that was intended to prevent it. Being completely recovered from my wound, I was night and day at the works, which Boufflers, also present every where, was incessantly interrupting or annoying.

I bethought me of a stratagem to give frequent alarms for several nights, at a half-moon, with a view to attack it afterwards in open day, being persuaded that the wearied soldiers would take that time for repose. This scheme succeeded. I ordered an assault upon a salient angle, and that succeeded. I directed the covered way to be attacked, and again succeeded. I thence made a breach in the curtain, and enlarged another in a bastion; and when I was at length working at the descent of the ditch, the marshal, who had every day invented some new artifice; sometimes tin boxes, at others, earthen pots, filled with grenades, and done all that science could suggest, offered to capitulate on the 22nd of September, without mentioning any conditions. I promised to sign such as he should propose to me. "This, M. le Marechal," so I wrote

to him, "is to show you my perfect regard for your person, and I am sure that a brave man like you will not abuse it. I congratulate you on your excellent defence."

My council of war, which I summoned out of politeness, objected to the article that the citadel should not be attacked on the side next the town. I yielded, having my plan in my head, and wrote to Boufflers: "Certain reasons, M. Le Marechal, prevent me from signing this article, but I give you my word of honor to observe it. I hope in six weeks to give you fresh proofs of my admiration." Boufflers retired into the citadel, and I entered the town with Marlborough, the King of Poland, the Landgrave of Hesse, &c. In the morning we went to church, and at night to the play; and all the business of the capitulation being finished on the 29th of October, I the same day ordered the trenches to be opened before the citadel.

Before I proceed to this siege, I ought to relate a circumstance which happened to me during that of the city. A clerk of the post-

office wrote to the secretary of general Dopf, desiring him to deliver to me two letters, one from the Hague, and the other I know not whence. I opened the latter, and found nothing but a greasy paper. Persuaded, as I still am, that it was a mistake, or something of no consequence, which I might perhaps have been able to read had I taken the trouble to hold the paper to the fire, I threw it away. Somebody picked it up, and it was said that a dog about whose neck it was tied, died poisoned in the space of twenty-four hours. What makes me think this untrue, is, that at Versailles they were too generous, and at Vienna too religious, for such a trick.

The ninth day the besieged made a vigorous sortie. The Prince of Brunswick, who repulsed it, received a wound from a musket-ball in the head. The eleventh, a still more vigorous sortie of the Chevalier de Luxembourg, who drove my troops from the branches of the trenches, and made us fall back to St. Catherine's. An excellent officer of my staff had his head shot off by a cannon-ball by my side. The enemy lost a great number of men

before he returned to the citadel. I caused every thing to be repaired.

I was now suddenly obliged to abandon the siege, leaving the direction of it to Prince Alexander of Würtemberg. The Elector of Bavaria was engaged in that of Brussels. Marlborough and I made him raise it after a pretty battle, and some excellent well-combined manœuvres, of which he had all the honor, for I could not pass the Scheldt where I wanted. The Elector of Bavaria was somewhat ashamed. The French princes would have been so too, had not their joy on returning to Versailles prevented them.

I went back to the siege; but what a change! The marshal had taken advantage of my absence to drive the besiegers from the first covered way, of which I had left them in possession. After regaining it, as well as the other posts that had been abandoned, I wrote as follows to the brave Boufflers: "The French army has retired, M. le Marechal, toward Tournay, the Elector of Bavaria to Namur, and the princes to their courts. Spare

yourself and your brave garrison; I will again sign whatever you please." His answer was: "There is yet no occasion to be in a hurry. Permit me to defend myself as long as I can: I have still enough left to do to render myself more worthy of the esteem of the man whom I respect above all others." I gave orders for the assault of the second covered way. The king of France apparently anticipated this, for he wrote to the marshal to surrender. Notwithstanding his repugnance to such a step, he was on the point of obeying, when, in a note which the Duke of Burgundy had subjoined to the king's letter, he read: "I know from a certain quarter, that they want to make you a prisoner of war." I know not where he picked up this information; but that prince, respectable as he was in peace, could neither say nor do any but foolish things in war. This note however produced some impression for a moment. Generals, soldiers, and all, swore rather to perish in the breach. Boufflers wept for joy, as I have been told; and when on the point of embracing this alternative, he recollected my note, which got the better of the Duke of Burgundy's; and

after the trenches had been opened four months before the city and citadel, he sent me on the 8th of December all the articles that he wished me to sign, which I did without any restriction. I went very soon with the Prince of Orange to pay him a visit, and in truth to do homage to his merit. I cordially embraced him, and accepted an invitation to supper ; “ On condition,” said I, “ that it be that of a famished citadel, to see what you may eat without an express order from the king.” Roasted horse-flesh was set before us ; the epicures in my suite were far from relishing the joke, but were quickly consoled by the arrival of provisions from the city, on which we made an excellent repast.

The following day I gave him as good a dinner as I could, at my abbey, where he paid me a visit. We were very merry and communicative. We talked of war, politics, and Louis XIV. Respecting the last, I was on my guard ; I spoke only of his great qualities, and requested the marshal to lay me at his feet. On this subject I was highly amused with the flatteries of the states-gene-

ral, who thinking themselves very cunning, were in hopes by these means to dispose him to peace, of which they were ardently desirous. I durst not be alone a moment with the marshal, lest idle stories should be circulated respecting us; and one or the other might appear suspicious to our courts, where one is always sure to have good friends, who are never asleep. After manifesting my consideration for the illustrious vanquished, whenever we were together at the play, and when we went abroad in the streets, where I observed that he was universally adored, I caused him and his brave garrison to be conducted to Douay, with a large escort and all possible honors.

In one of our conversations I said to him; "If you could have been both within the place and without at the same time, M. le Marechal, and if no other princes of France had been there but M. de Vendôme, to whom I give that title out of love to Henry IV. I should never have taken Lisle."

"Do you believe in good luck in war?"

said he ; I see nothing in you but good management.”—“ If I have occasionally shewn some,” replied I, “it is because I have been fortunate enough to be opposed by bad generals ; and that is good luck,”—“ In my opinion,” said the marshal, “bad luck consists only in the want of opportunity to distinguish one’s self : but a beaten general is always in the wrong, without some extraordinary accident, such as an order misunderstood, or the death of the messenger ; he may then have some excuse, but there is none for the general who is surprised and defeated. The ignorant alone make war a game of chance, and they are caught at last. Charles XII. is not one of these ; but I see by the news which I have this morning received, that while we are speaking, he is playing very deep.”

After retaking Ghent and Bruges, Marlborough and I put our troops in winter-quarters, and went for a month to Brussels ; but my mother was no longer there.

1709.

January the 9th, we set out for the Hague. It was nothing but a series of honors and festivities ; presents for Marlborough, and fire-works for me. But I prevented a magnificent exhibition, by requesting the states-general to give the money it was to have cost to their brave soldiers, whom I had caused to be crippled ; and the 20th of January I set off for Vienna, to report and ask for farther orders.

I was directed to make peace, if the enemy would comply with all my demands. I returned on the 8th of April to the Hague, where I found the plenipotentiaries of the king of France. Famine, a winter more severe than had ever been known, want of men and money, made him wish for peace ; but the vanquished forget that they are such, as soon as they enter into negociation. They mistake obstinacy for firmness, and at last get more soundly beaten than before.

One hundred thousand men were again under Marlborough's command and mine in the Low Countries ; and the same number under Villars. " I am going," said he to the king on taking leave, " to drive your enemies so far, that they shall not again see the banks of the Scheldt ; and by a battle on my arrival, to regain all that has been taken from your majesty."

Without wishing to avoid one, for he was morally and physically brave, he took an extremely advantageous position : this was one of his great talents ; he wanted very little to be a perfect general. With reinforcements, which poured in to us on all sides, we were stronger than he, but there was no possibility of attacking him where he was. To oblige him to quit his position, we resolved to besiege Tournay. The trenches were opened on the 7th of July, the white flag was hoisted on the 28th, and on the 21st of August, after the most terrible subterraneous war that I ever witnessed (for in twenty-six days, the besieged sprung thirty-eight mines), the citadel surrendered. Villars never stirred. " Let us go and take Mons," said I to Marlborough ;

“ perhaps this devil of a fellow will tire of being so prudent.” Madame de Maintenon did not give him credit for so much prudence as he possessed, though she was very fond of him ; for she permitted Louis XIV. to send Marshal Boufflers to assist him. Certain enemies of Villars, at Versailles, hoped to disgust him ; but I have already proved, that brave men agree, and love and esteem each other. The two marshals would gladly have saved Mons without risking a battle ; we stood upon ceremony to know which party should oblige the other to give it. As soon as our troops from Tournay had arrived : “ Let us lose no time,” said I ; “ and in spite of one hundred and twenty thousand men, woods, hedges, villages, holes, triple entrenchments, a hundred pieces of cannon and *abattis*, let us put an end to the war in one day.”

The deputies of Holland, and some faint-hearted generals, objected, remonstrated, and annoyed me. It was of no use to tell them that the excellent veteran French soldiers were killed in the six or seven battles which Marlborough and I had gained ; and though I well

knew that young ones are formed but too expeditiously, an advantage in which they are superior to all other nations, we determined upon the battle of Malplaquet. The 11th of September a thick fog concealed our dispositions from the marshals; we dispelled it at eight in the morning, by a general discharge of all our artillery. This military music was succeeded by that of hautboys, drums, fifes, and trumpets, with which I treated both armies. We then saw Villars proceeding through all the ranks. As the French can never hear enough of their king; "My friends," said he to them, as I have been told, "the king commands me to fight: are you not very glad of it?" He was answered with shouts of—Long live the king and M. de Villars! I attacked the wood of Sars without shouting. I rallied the English guards, who, at the beginning, were scattered; some from too much courage, and others from a contrary reason: my German battalions supported them. We had nevertheless been overwhelmed, but for the Duke of Argyle, who boldly climbing the parapet of the entrenchment, made me master of the wood. All this procured me a ball

behind the ear ; and on account of the quantity of blood which I lost, all those about me advised me to have the wound dressed. “ If I am beaten,” I replied, “ it will not be worth while ; and if the French are, I shall have plenty of time for that.” What could I have done better than to seek death, after all the responsibility which I had again taken upon myself on this occasion ? I beg pardon for this digression and personality ; but one cannot help being a man. To endeavour to repair faults committed, is, I acknowledge, more noble ; but to survive one’s glory is dreadful. My business on the right going on well, I wished to decide that of the duke on the left, which proceeded but slowly. In vain the Prince of Orange had planted a standard on the third entrenchment ; almost the whole Dutch corps was extended on the ground, killed or wounded. For six hours Marlborough was engaged with the centre and the left, without any decisive advantage. My cavalry, which I sent to his succour, was overthrown on the way by the king’s household troops, as they were in their turn by a battery which took them in flank. At length

Marlborough had gained ground without me ; so that it was easy for me to turn the centre of the enemy's army, which had been left unsupported in consequence of the defeat of the wings. Boufflers rendered the same service to Villars as I did to Marlborough, and when he beheld him fall from his horse, dangerously wounded below the knee, and the victory snatched from them, he thought of nothing but how to make the finest retreat in the best possible order. I think it is not too much to estimate the loss of both armies at forty thousand men : those who were not killed died of fatigue. I gave some rest to the remains of my troops, buried all I could, and then marched to Mons.

There were but five thousand men in that place. I opened the trenches on the 25th of September, and on the 22d of October, being on the point of assaulting the horn-work of Bertamont, Grimaldi capitulated. Our troops went into winter-quarters ; and I, being obliged to post about without intermission, proceeded with Marlborough to the Hague, to coax the states-general, who were ready to abandon our

cause. I advised them to say at the conferences of Gertruidenberg, that they would not hear of peace unless it were general. 'Tis a good way to protract a war; for out of four or five powers, you may wager that there is one whose interest it is not to make peace. I was sure of Queen Anne, because I was sure of Marlborough; he seconded me admirably. I went to report to the emperor. I submitted to him a sketch of the state of Europe, of which I could see that his cabinet had not the least idea. I stated the inclination which I observed in several powers to forsake us. At a distance from danger, people are courageous. I was told that I should make a glorious campaign. I replied that I had lost more men than could be given me; but yet I would try what I could do.

I collected three hundred thousand florins for my army, which had for a long time been unpaid, and as many recruits as I could to reinforce Heister against the Hungarian rebels, whom they had neither the abilities to beat, nor the good sense to pacify. I soon returned to the Low Countries, by way of Berlin, where I alighted the 1st of April,

1710,

at the house of my good friend, the Prince of Anhalt Dessau. It was necessary to prevent the King of Prussia, who imagined that the Swedish monarch would cut out work for him, from withdrawing his troops from Italy, where the Duke of Savoy, meditating an invasion of Dauphiné, stood in need of them.

Frederic William promised me that they should remain. I demonstrated to him that since the battle of Pultawa there was no Charles XII. and that he was the prisoner of his friends the Turks.

I was sorry for it; for he never could have been a Gustavus Adolphus, who made the empire tremble; but I wished the aggrandizement of Russia to be prevented, and looked upon Sweden as a counterpoise for maintaining the equilibrium of Europe. The King of Prussia gave me a fine sword, and a snuff-box worth twenty-four thousand florins, which was a great deal for a prince both poor and avaricious. I proceeded on the 15th of April

to join Marlborough at the Hague ; and on arriving in Flanders, we found the French lines, from Maubeuge to Ypres, carried by Cumberland. We went to lay siege to Douai.

My equipages, coming from Holland by water, were taken by a French partizan near Antwerp : plate, boxes, and the presents which I had just received. Louis XIV. probably from the impression made upon him by the respectful message which I had sent by the Marshal de Boufflers, ordered the whole to be restored to me. I gave five hundred ducats and a gold-hilted sword to the partizan. I caused the trenches to be opened in the night between the 5th and 6th of May. Albergotti made a vigorous sally on the 8th, which gave me a good deal of trouble. No governor ever made so many sorties : he sometimes made four in a day.

Villars, having recovered from his wound, arrived from Paris to oblige us to raise the siege. We took a good position, and though it was not so strong as that which he had occupied at Malplaquet, the preceding year, yet he respected it. The many battles and

towns lost by the French since the commencement of the century, had rendered them cautious, and Villars too; that is saying a great deal. On the 24th of June, Douai surrendered.

It came to my turn to be cautious likewise. I designed to take Arras, and then there would have been nothing to prevent my marching to Paris; but Villars frustrated my plan, by taking an excellent position, where I durst not attack him. I consoled myself by the reduction of Bethune, which was the business of eight days. On the 14th of August we gained a tolerable advantage. Villars, always courageous in his own person, when he could not be so with his army, gave Broglio five hundred horse to cut off a large foraging party, and marched himself at the head of fifty squadrons to support him. Broglio, eager for the attack, fell into an ambuscade, and Villars returned extremely mortified.

Marlborough had a strong desire to attack him. I said to him: "I will wager that it

is not to be done : but let us reconnoitre him.” —“ Well then,” said he, finding this to be the case, “ let us go on taking towns.” On the 16th we opened the trenches before St. Venant, and on the 28th it capitulated.

The siege of Aix did not proceed so rapidly ; it was not till the beginning of November, that, after great efforts of valor on both sides, the besiegers carried the covered way. The brave Quebrinta nevertheless defended himself till the 8th. We went into winter-quarters. The Hague being the head of the coalition, which I saw every moment ready to tumble to pieces, I went thither again with Marlborough, and returned to Vienna on the 26th of January.

## 1711.

I there found the emperor and his ministers still undecided between their private baughtiness and the public interest. “ A halter or a ribbon, in one word,” said I, “ for Ragotzi and Caroli. Put an end to this tedious re-

bellion ; you may do it cheaply, for the Turks are going to march in behalf of Charles XII ; and unless Peter I. commits some egregious folly, he will find them employment for a long time.

They sent to me—I may say to me, because they have a notion that the president of war is the grand vizir—a minister named Zephala Aga, to assure the emperor that they had no quarrel with him ; but that it was the Russians on whom his highness, as he said, was going to take vengeance, for reasons known to the whole world. These were his own words.

Joseph I. was attacked with the small-pox. There were no good physicians at Vienna. They sent to Lintz for one. It came out in such abundance, that I thought him out of danger. Before my departure for the Low Countries, I would have taken leave of him ; he sent me word that I had but too much exposed my life for him already, and that he wanted it elsewhere than for the small-pox. I insisted no farther, and set off on the 16th

of April. Three days afterwards I was informed of his death, occasioned by the ignorance of the faculty of Upper and Lower Austria, who disputed all night about the means of relieving an inflammation of the bowels, with which the emperor was afflicted. I sincerely regretted this prince, aged thirty-three: the first since Charles V. who possessed genius, and was not superstitious; and I determined to serve him even after his death. I hurried to almost all the electors to dispose them to ensure the imperial crown to his brother, and then went to solicit the Dutch to continue their credit in money and friendship to Charles III. king of Spain, who became by the title of Emperor Charles VI.

The protestants did not fail to give out that the Court of Rome, which had suffered some humiliations from Joseph I. had bribed his physicians; but no credit should be attached to defamatory libels, to private anecdotes, as they are called, and to malicious doubts. It has long been the fashion to assert that great personages die of poison.

Tallard, more dangerous in peace than in war, whom I would not have left prisoner in England could I have suspected that he would there acquire any influence, enabled the Tories to triumph, and crush the Whigs. His assiduous attention to Mrs. Marsham, the queen's new favourite instead of the Duchess of Marlborough, his insinuating manners, and his presents of Burgundy and Champagne to Right Honorable members of parliament, who were *amateurs* of those wines, changed the aspect of European affairs, and then a M. Menager, who was sent to that country by Louis XIV. The consequences will be seen presently.

Marlborough was playing his last game in the Low Countries. He found means to finish his military career there with glory; he forced the French lines behind the Senzée, and took the city of Bouchain.

On the disgrace of the duchess, a thousand faults were discovered in him. His pride was denominated insolence, and his rather too great economy was called peculation and ex-

tortion. His friends, as may be supposed, behaved like friends ; and that is saying sufficient. He was recalled : to me this was a thunderbolt. The French assembled on the Rhine : I sent Vehlen with a strong detachment from the Low Countries, and leaving the Hague on the 19th of July, I collected as expeditiously as possible all the troops I could at Frankfurt, and took so good a position in a camp near Mühlberg, as to cause to be held and to cover the election to the imperial crown, which would have been lost had I received a check. The French durst not disturb it ; this was for me a campaign of prudence rather than of glory.

Queen Anne threw off all restraint. She had given an unfavourable reception to the Dutch ambassador, and had forbidden Gallas, the imperial minister, her court ; assigning as a reason certain expressions which he was said to have used respecting her. Charles VI. ordered me to repair the blunders of Gallas, if he had committed any, and to regain the court of St. James's.

Had I acted, as my good cousin Victor Amedæus would have done in my place, I should have cried out against Marlborough still more loudly than his enemies, and have refused to see him. But from policy itself, persons of narrow minds ought to counterfeit feeling. Their designs are too easily seen through. They are despised and miss their object. Gratitude, esteem, the partnership in so many military operations, and pity for a person in disgrace, caused me to throw myself with emotion into Marlborough's arms. Besides, on such occasions, the heart proves victorious. The people, who followed me every where from the moment I set foot in London, perceived it, and liked me the better for this: while the Opposition, and the honest part of the court, esteemed me the more. In one way or other, all was over for Austria. I coaxed the people in power a good deal. I made presents; there is scarcely any thing but what may be bought in England. I offered to procure the recal of Gallas. I delivered a memorial on this subject, and requested the queen to take other bases at the congress of Utrecht, where her plenipotentiaries

already were, that the emperor might be enabled to send his thither. I received so vague a reply, that had the court of Vienna believed me, they would not have reckoned at all upon the feeble succour of the Duke of Ormond, who set out to command the English, as successor to the Duke of Marlborough, and I should not have lost the battle of Denain. This happened in the following manner : Notwithstanding my distinguished reception from the queen, who, at my departure, presented me with her portrait, I went and told the states-general that we had now nobody on whom we could rely but themselves ; and passing through Utrecht to make my observations, I found the tone of the French so altered, so elevated, that I was more certain than ever of the truth of what I had announced. On my arrival at the Abbey of Anchin, where I assembled my army, amounting to upwards of one hundred thousand men, Ormond came and made me the fairest promises, and had the goodness to consent to my passing the Scheldt below Bouchain. But after feigning to agree to the siege of Quesnoi, he first strove to dissuade me from

that step, and then, without reserve, refused to concur in it. I said to him: "Well, sir, I will do without your eighteen thousand men." "I shall lead them," said he, "to take possession of Dunkirk, which the French are to deliver to me." "I congratulate the two nations," replied I, "on this operation, which will do equal honor to both. Adieu, sir." He ordered all the troops in the pay of England to follow him. Very few obeyed. I had foreseen the blow, and had made sure of the Prince of Anhalt, and the Prince of Hesse Cassel.

July the 30th, I took Quesnoi. I gave the direction of the siege of Landrecy to the Prince of Anhalt, and entered the lines which I had directed to be formed between Marchiennes and Denain. The Dutch had collected large stores of ammunition and provisions at Marchiennes. In vain I represented to them that they would be better at Quesnoi, only three leagues from Landrecy, and but ten from us; the economy of these gentlemen opposed the change. This made me say

peevishly, and as I have been told, with an oath, one day when Alexander's conquests were the subject of conversation: "He had no Dutch deputies with his army." I ordered twenty of their battalions, and ten squadrons under the command of the Earl of Albermarle, to enter the lines, and approached Quesnoi, with the main body of my army, to watch the motions of Villars. During all these shuffling tricks, of which I foresaw that I should be the dupe, and which Louis XIV. knew nothing of, I made him tremble upon his throne. At a very small distance from Versailles, one of my partisans carried off Berenghen, under the idea that it was the dauphin; others pillaged Champagne and Lorraine. Growenstein, with two thousand horse, levied contributions all over the country, spreading dismay, and declaring that I was at his heels with my army. It was then that he is reported to have said: "If Landrecy is taken, I will put myself at the head of my nobility, and perish rather than see my kingdom lost." Would he have done so? I cannot tell. He wanted once to leave the trenches, but was dis-

suaded. Henry IV. when formerly the contrary advice was given him, made the sign of the cross, and remained where he was.

Villars thinking himself not strong enough to attack me, as I had hoped he would, attempted the deliverance of Denain in another way. I have mentioned my vexation respecting the magazines at Marchiennes, upon which depended the continuation of the siege. Two leagues of ground were too much for the Dutch corps. But for the defection of the English, they might have been defended. The following circumstance demonstrated the talents of Villars, and a kind of fault with which I had to reproach myself: to conceal a movement made on his left towards the Scheldt, with the greatest possible secrecy and celerity, he with his right drew my attention to Landrecy, as if he designed to attack the lines of countervallation. All at once he drew back his right towards his left, which during the night had easily thrown bridges across the Scheldt, which is not wide at this place. These two wings united, advanced unknown to the Earl of Albemarle, who at-

tempted with his cavalry, but in vain, to fight what had passed. He relied upon me, but I reckoned upon him. On the first firing of his artillery, I marched to his succour, with a strong detachment of dragoons, at full trot, intending to make them dismount, if necessary, and followed by my infantry, which came up at a quick pace. The cowardice of the Dutch rendered my efforts unavailing. Had they but maintained themselves half an hour in the post of Denain, I had been in time. So I had calculated, in case of the worst, though I was deceived by the manœuvre of Villars.

I found only eight hundred men, and three or four generals drowned in the Scheldt; and all those who had been surprised in their entrenchments, killed without making any defence. Albemarle, and all the princes and generals in the Dutch service, were taken prisoners, while endeavoring to rally their troops. The conduct of the former was represented in very black colors to the states-general. I wrote to Heinsius, the pensionary: "It would be my province, sir, to throw the faults or the disasters of that day on the Earl

of Albemarle, if I had a single reproach to make him. He behaved like a man of honor, but I defy the ablest general to extricate himself when his troops, after a vile discharge, ignominiously run away. Your obstinacy in leaving your magazines at Marchiennes, is the cause of all this. Assure their high mightinesses of the truth of what I write you, of my dissatisfaction and profound mortification."

I was obliged to raise the siege of Landrecy, and to approach Mons, for the purpose of subsisting my army; so that I could not prevent Villars from retaking Douay, Quesnoi, and Bouchain.

I often examine myself with the utmost possible strictness. It appears to me, that if I had placed twenty battalions more in the lines, which would have been necessary to defend them, Villars, who was stronger than I, would then have beaten me. Out of the lines, posted as I was, I provided for every contingency. Could I expect that an hour at the utmost, more or less, would be decisive of

my glory, of the war, and of the salvation of France? The artillery of the lines, which were thickly planted with it, ought alone to have given me time to come up. Instead of being well served, it was abandoned in as cowardly a manner as the entrenchments. The two faults which I committed were, not disregarding the remonstrances of the deputies respecting Marchiennes, and confiding a post of such importance to their troops, the flower of which had perished at Malplaquet.

Unfortunate in Hainault, I prepared all things for being successful in Flanders, at the beginning of the next campaign, and concluded this by sending a detachment to surprise Fort Kenoque. What a paltry compensation! but one must work sometimes for the newspapers.

It may easily be supposed, that I was the subject of criticism at Vienna, London, and the Hague, and of songs at Paris. Here is one which I thought pretty, because it gives my history in very few words:

Eugene, op'ning the campaign,  
Swore with air most furious,  
He'd march straightway to Champagne,  
To swig our wines so curious.  
The Dutchman for this journey gay,  
His cheese to Marchiennes sent away;  
But Villars, fir'd with glory, cried :  
"Faith, where you are you'd better 'bide :  
Scheldt's muddy water is, I think,  
Quite good enough for you to drink."

I went to Utrecht to see how the negotiations proceeded. England, Savoy, Portugal, and Prussia, were ready to sign their treaties; and Holland hung only by a thread.

I set out for Vienna to report this to the emperor. On my arrival, Charles VI. said to me: "You are right; Holland has just signed too. So Zinzendorf informs me; and he has sent me the proposals of France, to which you will certainly not advise me to agree." "Your majesty does me justice," I replied. "We will obtain neutrality for the Low Countries; and with the troops which you will order thence, as well as from Naples and Lombardy, we shall be able to keep the French in check on the Rhine.

I hastened to all the states and courts of the empire to collect men and money. I procured three millions of crowns in one quarter, and a million of florins in another. But the tardiness of the princes and circles in marching from their quarters prevented me from anticipating the French on the Upper Rhine. Charles VI. manifested a desire to command his army in person. I represented to him that he could gain no honor by it. My opinion was but too well-founded. As I clearly perceived that Villars meant to make an attempt on Landau, I ordered lines to be formed at Etlingen, within which I sent one-half of my army, and posted the other at Mühlberg, where I hoped my reinforcements would arrive before the fall of Landau; but the Prince of Würtemberg was obliged to capitulate.

Still I was in hopes of preventing the French from besieging Friburg. I took possession of all the defiles of the mountains. I threw up entrenchments, formed *abattis*, and erected redoubts at all the principal points. The inferiority of my force made me

fear that the peace, which must necessarily be soon concluded, would be detestable: I called in all my troops, leaving only eighteen thousand with Aubonne to defend the passage of the mountains. Villars attacked the heights with his grenadiers. The troops of the circles, which I had placed behind the *abattis*, behaved like the Dutch at Denain, and ran away at the first fire. The Duke of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti began the attack of the defiles at seven in the evening. Aubonne, hurried away by the fugitives, could not rally them till they were at such a distance that he could not regain his entrenchments, and contented himself with throwing twelve battalions into Friburg. After so many battles during a period of thirteen years, the emperor's troops themselves were but raw recruits. The best of my entrenchments at Hohlgraben being forced, there was nothing to check Villars in his march across the Black Forest, and he opened the trenches before Friburg on the 1st of October. Harsch disputed every inch of ground. In the night between the 14th and 15th, the covered way was taken by assault;

and he there lost seventeen hundred men. When the inhabitants saw that Harsch was determined not to surrender till the assault of the body of the place, which was battered down with balls, the oldest priest carrying the host, the magistrates, women, and children, all thronged to him. The fire from the ramparts continued as before; and when the breach was wide enough to enter in companies, on the 1st of November, he abandoned the town and retired into the citadel. This was followed by defending, fighting, writing, demanding, refusing, granting, prolonging suspensions of hostilities till the 21st. and then by capitulation.

Farewel to the empire! farewel to its two bulwarks! was the general cry at all the courts of Germany, which were dying of fear. Why are they incorrigible? If little ministers and great or little mistresses were not gained by France, they might raise one hundred thousand men to defend in the first place the passage of the Rhine; and then the fortresses erected and to be erected. There are very bad Germans in Germany.

The same courts and states of the empire having crossed me, as some years before they had done Prince Louis of Baden, had rendered it impossible for me to relieve those two places. This, I confess, horribly disgusted me of the war, so that I was one of the first to advise the emperor to make peace. France had been making prodigious efforts: her resources are infinite. 'Tis the will of one individual and of one nation. The Austrian monarchy is composed of five or six, which have different constitutions. What a difference in civilization, population, and importance! The title of emperor does not bring a single man or a single kreutzer. He must even negotiate with his empire that it may not be French; with the Bohemians, that they may not run away into Prussia and Saxony for fear of becoming soldiers; with his Lombards, who are ready to turn Savoyards; with his Hungarians, ready to turn Turks; and with his Flemings, ready to become Dutchmen.

La Houssaie was directed to sound on the part of Louis XIV. and Undheim, the minis-

ter of the Elector Palatine, on that of Charles VI. The first appointed Villars to treat with me at Rastadt, to which place I was sent at the same time. Villars arrived there first, to do the honors of the place, he told me, and came to the foot of the stairs to receive me. Never did men embrace with more military sincerity, and I may venture to add, with more esteem and attachment. Our juvenile friendship, when companions in arms in Hungary, and our intimacy at Vienna, while he was ambassador there, interrupted by military exploits on both sides, rendered this interview so affecting, that the officers and men composing our escorts also cordially embraced one another. A conversation of an hour, in my apartment, to which Villars conducted me, fixed the basis of the treaty. "I was in expectation," said I laughing to Villars, "of exorbitant demands on your part, but I suppose they have not yet arrived, since in your heart you think mine reasonable. You will send a courier to notify my objections; he will return to you with orders to agree to none of my propositions. Your second will bring you

intelligence that they are beginning to listen to reason at Vienna, and we shall sign." All that I predicted partly came to pass; and while he was waiting for the second courier, I said to him: "Allow me, my dear marshal, to go in the mean time to spend the carnival at Stuttgard, with the Duke of Würtemberg. My body requires recreation; but for these two years, owing to you, my mind has been in still greater need of it."—"With all my heart," said he, "and I will go and amuse myself at Strasburg, till Contades, whom I will send off to the king, shall return with fresh instructions. Allow me also to give you a ball this evening, as though we were not going to fight perhaps for a fortnight to come. People will consider our sovereigns the best friends in the world, while it is only their ambassadors that are so, if you, Monseigneur, will permit me to assume an appellation so dear to my heart." In the time that we remained together, I gave him balls and suppers in my turn. His entertainment was better than mine, which was rather too much in the German style; I was quite out of my element. Whoever saw us together at night would not

have supposed that we were quarrelling all day. At the entertainments which he gave me, his conversation seemed more amusing and more agreeable than ever. Nobody could be more so than he. He had far more interesting things to tell me, than when we were acquainted. We were talking one day of the difference of our nations: "Your's," said Villars to me, "seems immovable, never doing glorious things but by halves, and never disgracing itself."—"And your's," replied I, "is never steady. It is in fact two; one susceptible of discipline, fatigue, and enthusiasm, when it is headed by a Villars, a Vendôme, and a Catinat; and the other, that of Blenheim and Ramillies, when there was too much of Versailles in your affairs. The understanding and intelligence of your countrymen may sometimes be prejudicial, because they form an opinion on every subject, and that very quickly. For instance, if I had to do with some of you, I would equip some of my dragoons in the French uniform, and direct them to cry out on your rear: *We are cut off!* But with such valor, and such a man as you, my dear marshal, they are very dangerous fellows."

“ Indeed,” said he, “ we talk without being aware of it, like Hannibal and Scipio.— What think you of the Turks ? Are they yet as stupid as in my time, when I began to admire you, Monseigneur ? ”

“ Nobody will ever change their system,” answered I, “ but it might be turned to good account without that. If a pacha, a renegado, a general of the allies of the Porte, were to place platoons after their manner, as a second line in the intervals of the first, and others as a third in those of the second, and then again reserves, and their spahis on the wings ; with their accursed shouts of *Allah ! Allah !* and their mode of advancing in fifties with a pair of colors, they would be invincible.”

“ You will be angry with me for what I am going to say,” observed Villars. “ Do you know the foolish story which has been told concerning you, to account for the loss of the battle of Denain ? ”

“ Let me hear it,” said I, “ it will amuse me.”

“ Well, it was said that you had a mistress at Marchiennes ; that an Italian dancer, beautiful as an angel, had her quarters there ; and that you had troops at that post, only for her safety and your’s, during your nightly visits.”

I laughed heartily with him at this story.

“ Indeed,” said I, “ it was rather too late for me to catch the foolish fever called love. I had better have taken it at Venice or Vienna, when we were young. You paid attention to ladies, I remember ; but it was without loving or being loved by them ; for they take a French gallant for fashion’s sake.”

“ That often happens to us in France too,” replied he. “ It is a fashion there likewise, nay even an employment when we have nothing else to do : indeed, it is almost necessary to save our character. Consider what

they have said of M. de Vendôme and of Catinat."

He passed some jokes on his friend Madame de Maintenon, and the steeple from which Chamillard had reconnoitred me, and highly amused me at the expence of the Duke of Burgundy, the Villerois, the Tallards, the Marsins, and the La Feuillades. "I was delighted," said I, "to find that you were converting and cutting the throats of the Hugonots in the Cevennes, instead of being opposed to me at Hochstett." I had no difficulty to make him acknowledge that, but for his wound, he would have beaten me at Malplaquet; but it was much harder for him to prove, as he attempted to do, that I had not committed some slight error at Denain.

Perhaps these little flatteries produced some observations favorable to the emperor in his dispatches to Louis XIV. I hinted in conversation, that I was not yet acquainted with this emperor, and that he seemed to me to be extremely obstinate. With pleasure I observed Villars talking with some members of

the states of the empire, supposing that he would learn that I had obtained from them five millions to begin the war again, if it should be absolutely necessary; and we parted.

## 1714.

Contades went like the wind, and returned in the same manner on the 26th of February. The framing of new instructions, the assembling of the council, the alterations in the conditions, the discussions on this subject, and perhaps also the dispatching of some secret couriers, who arrived without my knowledge—all this was the business of six weeks.

Villars sent Contades to me, to request that I would give credit to whatever he should communicate to me in the king's name, and we both returned very expeditiously to Rastadt. Seeing that very few articles in my propositions were altered, I signed on the 6th of March.

I could not forbear laughing at the titles assumed by the emperor; such as, King of Corsica, Algiers, Jaen and the Canaries; Duke of Athens and Neopatri; Lord of Tripoli, &c.; and beside them, the most Serene Prince and Lord Louis XIV.; then my titles in abundance, and next to them, the general of the French army, named de Villars; and I admired the impertinence of our chanceries. "I shall go to Vienna," said I to him, "to procure the ratification of our treaty, because I am afraid that some alterations might be made in it; and I will soon see you again."

I was most favorably received by the court and by the city, both being heartily tired of the war. I procured the appointment of plenipotentiaries to execute the necessary formalities with those of his Most Christian Majesty. It was at Baden that they met for this purpose; and thither Villars and I repaired to affix our signatures once more to the same contract.

We were both apprehensive for a moment, lest the death of Queen Anne, which hap-

pened just at this juncture, should produce some alteration ; but our subaltern ministers had the good sense not to make any remonstrances to us on that subject.

All that now grieved me was to be obliged to part from Villars, whom I was never to see again. “ We shall probably fight no more battles, and sign no more treaties together,” said I, to him, “ but we shall never cease to love and to esteem each other.” That brave man was also affected at taking leave of me, and I departed for Vienna.

## 1715.

The short years of peace which I there passed were to me more fatiguing than those of war. Abundance of conferences with the English and Dutch ministers respecting the barrier-treaty of the Low Countries, and also with those of the emperor, Harrach, and Zinzendorf, about the restoration of the finances. They were dreadfully deranged. I had paid the army when and how I could. It was ne-

cessary for a commanding general to have all his wits about him. My bills had sometimes been protested ; therefore, in the same manner as people send diamonds to a pawnbroker, I had sometimes pledged provinces. At length, by little and little, notwithstanding the disharmony of the chiefs of the different departments, I effected some little improvement in the revenues of the state.

When I received information of the death of Louis XIV. it produced, I confess, the same effect on me as the fall of an old stately oak, uprooted by a tempest, and extended on the ground. He had stood so long ! Death before it erases great recollections, revives them all in the first moment. History is indulgent to princes in their outset. That of this great monarch needed no indulgence ; but now age had blunted the talons of the lion. A regency was destined to allow us time to breathe. But a circumstance occurred, which cut out plenty of work for us again.

At the beginning of May, I gave audience

to a Turkish ambassador, who came to request the emperor not to interfere in the quarrel between the Sublime Porte and Venice.

On examining myself, I dare not decide whether my opinion was not governed by some small degree of personality. Glory is sometimes a hypocrite, which disguises itself in the cloak of the honor of states. One imagines insults, charges others with injuries, insolence, and bad intentions, and occasions the destruction of five hundred thousand men. But this time several of the ministers, and Guido Stahrenberg himself, though not a friend to me, coincided in my opinion. Charles VI. appointed me to the command of one hundred and twenty-five thousand men, of whom fifty-five thousand were detached in two corps.

Charles VI. conferred on me the government general of the Low Countries. I gave the post of deputy-governor to an Italian named Prié. I think I might have made a better choice.

We were again in want of money. Kaunitz went to collect what he could in the empire, and the pope granted us a brief for levying the tithes and extraordinary dues of the clergy in all the provinces of our monarchy.

The Turks were placing Temeswar in a good state of defence, when a fire, which burned forty houses of that town, and another at Belgrade, which consumed thirty vessels laden with stores, induced a belief that Mahomet disapproved the war. This moment of superstition was perhaps fortunate for me; for Löffelholz made himself master of Metrovitz without resistance.

The pacha complained of these hostilities. Löffelholz replied that they had been begun on his side by the fire which his saicks had opened on some of the imperial troops who were sailing down the Save. The poor pacha, who perhaps knew nothing of the matter, ordered those who had fired to be impaled; but this I affected to consider as the first effect of anger rather than as a reparation.

It is scarcely possible to decide which of two parties is in the wrong at the commencement of a war. They quarrel, complain, recriminate, and fight, before the matter can be cleared up. The grand signior would, if he durst, have confined the emperor's resident, and sent the grand vizir with one hundred and twenty thousand men, who, thinking himself extremely cunning, pretended to be marching into Dalmatia, and suddenly turned off towards Belgrade, with orders not to pass the boundary of the two empires.

After witnessing the birth and decease of a young archduke, I set off from Vienna on the 1st of July, in consequence of information, either true or false, that the Turks intended to cross the Save. Langlet took possession of Ratheza. The Sublime Porte sent us a long manifesto, clever enough for a christian potentate, which contained sound argument, and wore an air of good faith ; but it was easy for us to prove that a Turkish spy had already been impaled in our camp, and that an Hungarian renegade was collecting deserters of all nations to form a corps for the service of the Porte.

On the 27th of July, I went to Peterwaradin, and the grand vizir into the old entrenchments at Semlin. I had no great difficulty to draw him from them; for having as much inclination to fight as myself, he met me half way. His name was Hali; and such was his enmity to the Christians, that after taking one hundred thousand florins as the ransom of Breuner, who had been made prisoner, he nevertheless afterwards ordered his head to be cut off, as will be seen presently. A favorite with his father-in-law, Achmet III. deeply involved in the intrigues of the seraglio, ignorant and presumptuous, he was the Villeroi of the Turks. "This grand vizir of the infidels," said he, meaning me, "is not what he passes for. This will presently be seen, for I am marching against him." He accordingly crossed the Save. I sent John Palfy to reconnoitre; he had two horses killed under him, and retired in good order, though seventy thousand spahis attempted to surround him; but he gained a defile. "This at least," said I, "is a pretty decisive act of hostility on their part." It took place at Carlowitz, the very spot where peace had

been concluded seventeen years before. On the 2d of August, I crossed the Danube with my army. The host of spahis, who fancied they had gained some advantage in the great skirmish to which I have alluded, arrived too late to prevent me. They found me encamped behind old entrenchments; and as soon as Hali arrived with his janissaries, he fell to work to besiege me in their usual way. The approaches, trenches, parallels, batteries, were all commenced, and almost finished in some places by day-break. They follow, as I have already observed, the plan of the Romans, without being aware of it, by entrenching themselves immediately on their arrival. On the 5th, at eight in the morning, they saluted me with all their artillery. I fully expected that this famous grand vizir would commit some blunder or other, and that he would be embarrassed with his superior numbers. Being unable to form a larger front, on account of my flanks being well supported, even when marching, he formed small bodies of troops, which did not engage. These were perhaps designed for reserves, which his good sense might have suggested the idea of (for

he was not deficient in that or in courage either), but which were afterwards forgotten. The Prince of Würtemberg, whom I ordered to make the first attack on my left, broke the enemy, and penetrated every where. But my right went on badly; the eight columns being obliged to break, in order to pass the apertures in my entrenchments, and being unable to deploy, on account of the proximity of those of the Turks, were roughly handled. Lanken and Wallenstein were killed. At this moment, Bonneval once more laid me under the greatest obligations. All around him were killed; he was himself wounded in the abdomen with a lance. He had but twenty-five men left; but he gave me time to send Palfy, with two thousand horse, upon the flank of the janissaries, hitherto conquerors in this attack. We then became victorious, but not till after an engagement of five hours. I entered the magnificent tent of the grand vizir, Hali; and there the chaplains of the nearest regiments, in a loud voice returned thanks to the God of armies in prayers repeated by the soldiers, with a demeanor both military and religious.

From this place I sent Captain Zeil of my regiment to the emperor with the account, which was only five or six lines. 'Tis easy to be modest when one is successful.

I did not care to pursue the Turks, for they were still much stronger than we. They were fired upon, in their retreat, by the artillery of Peterwaradin. The unfortunate Hali died the next day at Carlowitz of two wounds which he received while endeavoring at the head of his guards to rally the fugitives; and it was a few minutes before he expired that he ordered young Breuner, whom I have already mentioned, to be put to death, "in order," said he, "that this dog may not survive me. O that I could serve all the Christian dogs in the same manner!"

The 25th of August I encamped before Temeswar, which I invested, and amused myself with taking the pacha's handsome kiosk and garden, and a mosque which the Turks chose rather to abandon, than, as they said, to prophane by defending it.

On the 1st of September the trenches were opened. I severely scolded Prince Emanuel of Portugal, who, not content with being there, engaged in pursuit of a small body of Turks whom he espied. He had his horse killed, and received a violent contusion on the knee. Fortunately he did not take warning by this, but continued to expose himself much in these two campaigns. On the 9th the Turks made a wretched sally, and on the 24th a reinforcement, which they attempted to throw into the place, was soundly beaten.

On the 30th we took by assault the Palanka, on which the fate of the town almost depended; but it cost us very dear. I there lost a great number of officers, alike distinguished for their military and social qualities. On the 13th of October, Temeswar capitulated. A few more rainy days would perhaps have forced me to raise the siege. How fortunate! The Turks demanded mercy for some Cowirouzzers. I recollect that my answer to this article was: "Those scoundrels may go whithersoever they please." That appellation is by no means a matter of indif-

ference ; it signifies a rebel, and though originally confined to those of Hungary, it is good policy to encourage the soldier to apply it to all the enemies of the house of Austria, as if they were its subjects, and consequently to treat them with all the contempt that is felt for traitors. The merest trifle sometimes gives a useful and advantageous bias to an army.

I set out for Vienna, but by the way went through, at Raab, the whole tedious ceremony of being invested with the consecrated cap and stock, with which the pope was pleased to decorate me.

The venerable veteran Heister, whom I had appointed governor after the battle and siege in which he had distinguished himself (being determined to take part in them, notwithstanding his great age) came to meet me at the head of the garrison. Bishop Gindor put the cap on my head. I wrote a handsome letter in Latin to his holiness, and pursued my journey with the Chevalier Rospoli, who had brought me all these fine things, whom

I had taken as a volunteer about my person, and who was soon afterwards killed in a duel about a courtezan.

1717.

Nobody complained of an enormous but very judiciously divided tax, imposition, and contribution, which I proposed to be laid on the whole monarchy, at the same time furnishing it with means of commerce which nobody would have thought of. Charles VI. ordered all those who had it in their power to interfere, not to molest me, and he found the benefit of it. Oppenheim, the celebrated Jew, supplied me in a very short time with remounts and stores. They cost me rather dear, but I was in haste.

Princes and volunteers came from all quarters to serve under me, in numbers sufficient to compose a squadron. Among the former were a Prince of Hesse, two of Bavaria, a Bevern, a Culmbach, one of Würtemberg, two of Ligne, one of Lichtenstein,

one of Anhalt Dessau, the Comte de Charolai, the Princes of Dombes, Marsillac, Pons, &c. &c.

The emperor made me a present of a magnificent diamond crucifix, assuring me that all my victories had come and would come from God—an excellent way of releasing himself from all obligations to me; and I set out for Futack, where I re-assembled the army at the end of May.

It was necessary for me to make myself master of Belgrade, which, during three centuries, had been so often taken and retaken. Luckily, I found there no John de Capistran, the Franciscan, who, with the crucifix in his hand, and standing all day in the hottest fire, defended the place with such obstinacy; nor an Hunniades who commanded there against Mahomet II. in 1456. Hunniades died of his wounds; Mahomet lost an eye, and the friar was canonized.

The grand signior had unfortunately too well replaced the hot-headed grand vizir, who

had been killed. His successor was Hatschi Ali, Pacha of Belgrade, who made the most judicious dispositions for the preservation of the place, and gave me a good deal of trouble. The 10th of June I crossed the Danube; my volunteer princes threw themselves into boats that they might arrive first, and have an opportunity of charging the spahis with some squadrons of Mercy's regiment, which had already crossed below Panczova, for the purpose of covering the landing of some, and the bridge constructed upon eighty-four vessels for the others. On the 19th I went with a strong escort to reconnoitre the spot where I intended to pitch my camp. Twelve hundred spahis rushed upon us with unparalleled fury, shouting *Allah! Allah!* I know not how one of their officers forced his way through a squadron in front of me, that he might come to seek me at the head of the second, where I was from prudence, having a great many orders to give. He missed me. I was going to dispatch him with my pistol, when a dragoon, by my side, knocked him from his horse. We had the same day a naval engagement, which lasted two hours

and as our saicks gained the advantage, I remained master of the operations on the Danube. The 20th I made the troops work at the lines of countervallation, under a tremendous fire from the town. Toward the conclusion of June, I removed my camp so near to Belgrade, that the balls were incessantly flying over my head. A tempest destroyed my bridges, and but for the intrepidity of a Hessian officer in a redoubt, I know not how I should have reconstructed that of the Save.

Intending to take the place from the side next the water, I sent Mercy to attack a fort at the mouth of the Donawitz; but he fell from his horse in a fit of apoplexy. He was brought back, and supposed to be dead; fortunately, however, he afterwards recovered. Being apprised of the accident, I went to replace him, and the fort was taken. The Prince of Dombes had a narrow escape by my side, from a ball which made my horse prance. Marcilly was killed while bravely defending himself in a post, which I had directed him to entrench. He begged assistance of Ro-

dolph Heister, who refused it, and who was luckily killed (as a punishment for his cowardice) by a cannon-ball, which reached him behind his chevaux de frise. I arrived by accident at first with a strong escort only; I sent for a large detachment; I stopped, and completely defeated the janissaries, leaving indeed five hundred killed upon the spot, and among them, Taxis, Visconti, Suger, &c. Here also fell the Pacha of Romelia, the best officer of the Mussulmans.

On the 22d of July, my batteries were finished. I bombarded, burned, and battered down the city at such a rate, that it would have capitulated, but for the intelligence that the grand vizir was expected to arrive on the 30th at Nissa, with two hundred thousand men.

The 1st of August he made his appearance on the heights that overlooked my camp, extending in a semicircle from the hills of Krotzka to those of Dedina. The Mussulmans who covered them formed the finest amphitheatre in the world, a charming view

for a painter, but a most detestable one for a general. Cooped up between this army and a fortress with a garrison of thirty thousand men, the Danube on my right, and the Save on my left, my resolution was formed. I intended to march out of my lines to attack them, notwithstanding the advantage of their ground; but the fever, which had already begun to make havoc among my army, did not spare me. There was I seriously ill, and confined to my bed, instead of being at the head of my troops, whom I was anxious to lead to glory.

I must needs think that they were rather uneasy at court, in the city, and even in my army. Both courage and good fortune are required to extricate one's self from such a situation. Any general, who should have replaced me, might, nay must, have supposed that he should be ruined if he retreated, and beaten if he did not. Our condition was growing daily worse. The heavy artillery of the Turks had arrived on the heights which I have mentioned. We were so bombarded from them, as well as from the fortress, that

I knew not where to place my tent, for several of my servants had been killed going into and out of it. In the little skirmishes (and such were very frequent) with the spahis, my young volunteers never failed to go and ply their pistols, though the cannon always interfered in these affairs. One day d'Esrade, governor of the Prince de Dombes, had a leg shot off by his side, and one of his pages was killed. All our princes whom I have named above distinguished themselves, and loved me as their father.

I had caused the country in the rear of the grand vizir's army to be ravaged; but those people, as well as their horses, and above all their camels, subsist almost upon nothing. Not an hour passed in which I was not losing a score men by the dysentery, or the cannon of the lines, which the infidels every night advanced a good deal nearer to my entrenchments. I was, if any thing, less the besieger than the besieged. Things went on better for me in the city. A bomb in a powder magazine completely destroyed it, and occasioned the loss of three thousand lives.

At length I recovered from my disorder, and on the 15th of August, in spite of the bad advice of people who are not fond of battles, I determined upon an engagement. I expected that ennui and despair would give me success.

I slept not like Alexander before the battle of Arbela, though the Turks did, without being Alexanders: opium and predestination make them philosophers. I gave short and clear instructions according to any circumstances that might happen, and left my entrenchments about one in the morning. The darkness, and then the fog, rendered my first efforts a game of chance. Some of my battalions of the right wing fell on their march, without intending it, into a branch of the trenches of the Turks. Dreadful was the confusion that ensued among them, as they have neither advanced posts nor scouts; our confusion was not less, baffling all description: on the left and in the centre they began firing on both sides, without knowing at what. The janissaries fled from their entrenchments, into which I had time to throw fascines and

gabions, to form a passage for my cavalry, who pursued them I know not how. The fog dispersed, and the Turks perceived a terrible opening; but for my second line, which I ordered to march immediately to fill this chasm, I should have been undone. I would then have marched in order; but no such thing; I was better served than I imagined. La Colonie, at the head of his Bavarians, gave way to his ardor, and took a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon. I was obliged to do better than I would: I supported the Bavarians; and the Turks, after running to the very heights, lost all the advantage of their ground. A large body of their cavalry fell upon mine, which had advanced too far; a whole regiment was cut in pieces, but two others seasonably coming up to its relief, decided the victory. Here I received a cut with a sabre; it was, I believe, my thirteenth wound, and probably my last. All was over by eleven in the morning. Viard, during the action, overawed the garrison of Belgrade, which capitulated the same day. I forgot that there was no Boufflers in the city; I behaved generously, and granted the honors of

war to the garrison, who, not knowing what they meant, neglected to avail itself of them. Men, women, children, carriages and camels, departed all at once, pell-mell, either by land or by water.

At Vienna the devout ascribed my success to a miracle, and those who envied me to good luck. Charles VI. I believe was among the former, and Guido Stahrenberg among the latter. I was well received there as might be expected.

It has already been seen that I sometimes sat in judgment on myself. Here is my opinion respecting this victory, which I have rather to justify myself for than to boast of. My partizans have extolled it too highly, and those who were jealous of me have found too much fault with it. They ought rather to have proposed to cut off my head on this occasion than for Zenta, for there I risked nothing. I was sure of victory; whereas here I might not only have been beaten, but overwhelmed, undone, if a tempest or the cannon of the Turkish lines to the left on the banks

of the Danube had destroyed my bridges ; but I had indeed the superiority in saicks, workmen, and gunners to protect or repair them, and a corps at Semlin.

Could I anticipate the tardiness or ill-will of authorities which clash where there are so many internal abuses in the administration, and such ignorance in the heads of the civil department and commissariat ? This cause kept me destitute of all that was necessary for me to begin the siege and take Belgrade before the arrival of the Grand Vizir ; and this afterwards prevented me from being beforehand with him upon the heights ; which I should nevertheless have been but for my accursed fever, before his artillery had arrived there. And then that unfortunate dysentery which carried my army to the hospital, or rather to the grave ; for every regiment had a cemetery behind its camp....could any one anticipate that too ? It was these two reasons that made me attack and consequently risk every thing and nothing, for I was as sure to be ruined in one way as in the other. I threw up entrenchments upon entrenchments : I

knew a little more on that subject than my comrade the Grand Vizir; and had a sufficient number of people in health to guard them. I obliged him to decamp for want of provisions (for the country to the distance of seven miles behind his camp had been ravaged, as I have already observed) and consequently Belgrade to surrender. If then this manuscript should come to light, no praise, my dear reader, nor censure. In a word, I might not have come off so well, but for the protection of the Virgin, according to the opinion of Charles VI. his Jesuit, and the pious souls who wished me at the devil; for the battle was fought on Assumption day.

Europe was negotiating elsewhere. Some charitable creature advised the emperor to send me for that purpose to London, with a view to procure for another the easy glory of putting an end to the war.

1718.

I was not such a simpleton as to be caught in this snare, and I set out for Hungary at the beginning of June, with a fine sword, and eighty thousand florins, given me by the emperor.

In regard to friends and enemies, I ought to observe that I was often indebted for my successes to foreigners serving in my armies. Among these I have had the following Frenchmen : Commercy, Vaudemont, Stainville, Rabutin, Erbeville, Saint-Amour, Dupigny, Montigny. Corbeille, Bonneval, Langallerie, Castel, Viard, Aubonne, the two Mercys; Princes of Lorraine, Croy, la Marche, Hautois, Gondrecour, La Colonie, Batté, Faber, Marisny, Martigny, Langlet, and the Duke of Aremberg, whom I may reckon foreigners, being from the Low Countries. All of them had many French officers in their regiments. There were likewise a great number in the two regiments of Francis and Leopold Lorraine, in mine, in that of my nephew,

and of Emanuel, Prince of Portugal. Hamilton, Brown, and the two Wallis's, were Irish. Of Italians I had Marcelli, Montecuculli, Veterani, Locatelli, Arragoni, Bagni, Orselti, Maffei, Magni Videlli, Negrelli, Rosa Grana, Porica, Perselli, Cavriani, Strassoldo, &c. and of Spaniards, Vasques, Galbes, Cordua, Ahumada, and Alcandet.

I might also reckon as foreigners (for they pass almost for such at Vienna) the Hungarians, of whom I had two Palfys, Nadasti, Esterhazy, Spleni, Ebergeni, Baboezai, which proves that there were many Austrians at court, and few in the army; my Germans being almost all from the empire. The heads of families and the eldest sons do not enter into the service in this country. It was in vain that I attempted to introduce the fashion.

The Turks were desirous of making peace, and so was the emperor. I could very well have dispensed with it, for I confess that I was fond of war. All the courts sent negotiators to Passarowitz. To procure the bet-

ter conditions, I marched towards the grand vizir, who had just arrived with his army in the neighbourhood of Nissa. I should have an easy task, for he had only eighty thousand men; I was in the best disposition for attacking him, when a cursed courier brought me the unwelcome intelligence that the treaty of peace had been signed on the 21st of July. With us this is only called a truce, which one observes as long as one pleases, or breaks according to circumstances. This lasted but twenty-five years. It was a cardinal, who ought to have been the enemy of Mahomet, that saved his empire. In this manner policy trifles with religion. Alberoni caused Spain to declare against us.

If the repairs which I ordered to be made at Orsowa, and the fortifications at Belgrade, and the allotment of quarters in Hungary had not detained me there, I should have caused the emperor to be respected in my government general of the Low Countries. Prié had suppressed the first commotion by fetching from Luxemburg Prince Ferdinand de Ligne's regiment of dragoons. A second

took place ; the rioters in the great square at Brussels were fired upon, but instead of continuing to employ force, Prié was frightened because he was told that the country-people were coming to avenge the death of the inhabitants of the city. He ought to have been recalled, but the wily Italian, well aware that this would be my opinion, made amends for his weakness.

## 1719.

With a force of twenty-five thousand men, whom I prevailed upon the emperor to send to the Low Countries, upon a third rebellion ( for the citizens of Brussels attempted from day to day to undermine the authority of the sovereign ) he caused, on the 18th of December, the five ring-leaders to be hanged, and Anniessens, the father of the city, to be beheaded. When his head dropped upon the scaffold, the silly rebels dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, as formerly in that of Egmont and Hoorn; and all was over.

Wearied of these disturbances, to which one could not apply the name of revolts, and the absurdities of Prié and Bonneval, who, at the distance of three hundred leagues, endeavored to oblige me to take up the sword again, and to crown all his indiscretions had turned Turk, I requested the emperor to give his sister a government, to which I had not time to go and reduce the people to reason. Here is what I had written to Prié during the troubles ; which proves that people knew not what they were talking about when they said that I supported him ; for I never studied appearances : “ Represent to the Flemings, that is their interest to cause a belief that they have it in their power to revolt, in order that they may be treated with some indulgence by the court ; but never to do so because they would demonstrate the poverty of their character, and the nullity of their resources. Represent to them that with four pieces of cannon at the corners of a city, one may make it tremble. Represent to the least stupid, that nothing is ever gained by a revolution, because people know not what to set up in the

place of what they have destroyed ; and that the worst of sovereigns is preferred to the ablest men who succeed him. Besides, ours is too good to them ; the government of the House of Austria is the most mild. Represent to the most upright that the accomplishment of a revolution requires crimes which make one shudder, but without which rebels are only laughed at ; and that they must choose between the gibbet and obedience : and you, M. Prié, between your recal and the Spielberg ; vigor to prevent insurrections, and rigor to punish them."

The emperor made me his vicar-general in Italy, with a salary of one hundred and fifty thousand florins.

Alberoni, our inveterate enemy, being dismissed, and his Philip IV. having acceded to the quadruple alliance, I had time to think of my pleasure. It was my fancy to build my palaces in the suburbs, somewhat in the Turkish or Arabic taste, with my four towers, which I well know were not in any genuine

style of architecture, but they called to mind a great event. It was the spot where, in 1529, the grand vizir had pitched his tent; and I constructed my menagerie at Beugebey exactly like the Mufti's camp, with towers in which there had been tents for prayer.

The arrangement of my maps, plans, and fine editions, which I had bought in London, and of the excellent French, Latin, and Italian works, well bound, afforded me occupation, as well as my cascades, large *jets d'eau*, and superb basons. To return to my towers, for which I was censured, I replied to those who found fault with them: "I am as well acquainted as you are with the five Grecian orders, and also with the seven orders of battle of Vegetius. I like to have an order of my own in both sciences, and I have found the benefit of it."

A very agreeable moment for me was occasioned by a Turkish embassy. The grand signior sent me the two finest Arabian horses I ever saw, a scymetar, and a turban, with this message: "The one is a symbol of thy

valor, the other of thy genius and of thy wisdom." I like this eastern compliment, and distrust those of christians.

1720.

This was one of the most tranquil years of my life. Taken up entirely with the arts and company, I did not do much. We had, as every where else, love intrigues and court intrigues; but among the latter, none of those of waiting-women, such as we had seen in France. Our sovereigns, fortunately owing to their great pride, do not degrade themselves by intercourse with the vulgar; and every where else the valets, the grooms of the time of Rodolph II. the huntsmen (where the monarch is fond of the chace) and, in short, mean people possess influence, afford protection, are dangerous, and do mischief. Charles VI. on the contrary, in order to keep them at a distance, made his chamberlains dress him, and they, after putting on his shoes, made a low genuflexion, and retired without uttering a word.

Agreeably to my advice, the protestants were protected against the too orthodox catholics and the Elector Palatine, to whom, but for this, the King of Prussia would have proved that he was the protector of his religion. In spite of me, Nimsch was punished for having written against me, it was said, and for having corresponded with Alberoni; but I procured a pardon for him, at least in part. As I did not even care about the excellent songs of Rousseau and Bonneval, still less should I notice paltry paragraphs, or ill-written declamations.

1722.

I had not much to say, and very little to do, Charles VI. displayed his magnificence at the marriage of his niece. I gave entertainments too, and must confess that I was delighted with my military court, and my old comrades. That of the emperor was naturally more illustrious in point of rank, but not in merit. All the most distinguished

persons in the empire were there. But the situation of La Favorita, in a street of the suburbs, was not favorable either to diversion or dignity. The dresses were all superb ; but taking no pleasure in parade of that kind, I often wore my uniform, and some of the generals followed my example.

I received a great deal of company at my house between dinner and the play, because I find that more business may be done in a drawing-room than in a closet. I walked about with some foreign minister, or sat down in a corner with some of our own ; and a communicative air makes people talkative. On the other hand, I often see the reserve of others repel every body ; and, concealing their mediocrity under the cloak of gravity and discretion, these gentlemen know no one, they are unacquainted with public and private opinion ; and less secret than discreet, they are strangers to all that is passing. 'Tis thus that sovereigns are often deceived for want of mixing with society.

There has not been a single bad one of the

House of Austria, excepting Philip II. all his life, and Ferdinand II. once or twice. Charles VI. was only unfortunate in the choice of his servants. His minister of the finances was an idiot. I caused him to be dismissed, and Gundacker Stahrenberg, a man of merit, to be appointed in his stead. Strattman likewise possessed infinite merit and great intelligence. Jorger had sound judgment, and spoke and wrote extremely well.

## 1723.

Charles VI. went to be crowned King of Bohemia: more pleasures and ceremonies. Charles had a reserved Spanish air, and took but little pains to laugh, though he was very fond of buffoons. This is always the case with people who are not naturally cheerful. He was good and just.

Leopold, in my opinion, had more understanding; but Joseph, who possessed still more than either, was amiable, and would have governed in his own person. I said to

him, shortly before his death: "Employ, sire, none but honest men; but if you sometimes find a scoundrel willing to undertake the dirty work of intrigues, and not ashamed to have his conduct disavowed, make use of such an one without esteeming him. The honor of states is not so ticklish as that of individuals. Bad faith and meanness, independently of the abhorrence which they excite, are not sound policy. But address and dissimulation are allowable. Don't proceed too far against Rome and the clergy. You do not love France; that I think perfectly natural, for though beaten by us at present, she possesses more resources than your majesty. If we continue successful, notwithstanding the change which is preparing in England, after you have made peace, do not begin again; and never threaten any power, till you are ready to strike. A young and ambitious monarch at the head of that, would conquer the world. Fortunately when Louis XIV. was young, he speedily returned to Versailles to dance *l'aimable vainqueur*, and to hear an opera by his panegyrist Quinault: and at present he has not long to live."

Though Joseph was not a bigot like his successor, he would never have deceived the share-holders of the company of Ostend, and with his magnanimous character, he would not have crouched, like him, to the maritime powers. He one day said to me: "Had I been in my father's place, I should not have run away to Lintz, when you entered into our service. I would not have suffered myself to be shut up in Vienna; but would have acted as aid-de-camp to the Duke of Lorraine, at the battle of Vienna. I know what courtiers are. I saw enough of them at the siege of Landau. They pretended to tremble for us, and it is for themselves they tremble all the while." The severe and frigid Leopold was not fond of Joseph. He was more partial to Charles, his younger brother, who was less petulant, and more of a Spaniard in every respect, and could not forgive his love of pleasure, and his bursts of passion. It is true he was once guilty of great indecorum in beating, in his presence, and that of a large company at a public entertainment, one of his people who did not pay proper attention to him.

When I did not directly interfere in matters of little importance, I was reproached with indolence, authorized, it was spitefully observed, by my long and active military service. Had I entered into all the petty details, I should have been called trifling. I left them to Koch, Etlet and Brockhausen, my referendaries. People clamored against them; that made very little impression upon me: I had on my side all the good company, the populace, and the soldiery, whom I loved more than I did a great many illustrious nobles, with whom I had occasion to be dissatisfied for their want of talents in war. I supported those three gentlemen, it was alleged. I was not a weathercock to turn with every wind. They understood me if I spoke but half a word; and I should have done more harm to the public service by changing them, than good by redressing perhaps some slight abuses which it is difficult to discover and to prevent.

I read much, and had others to read to me: I had scarcely ever had time for it before. I was surprised to find in the history of the

Greeks, the Romans, and the French, of the early years of Louis XIV. many things which I had done without knowing of these precedents, as if by instinct. I resolved to give my library to the emperor after my death, for he wants it, but my niece not at all. She will like better to play and to keep a little court.

1724.

I applied myself a good deal to internal affairs. I said to the ministers: "Cannot you disband this host of underlings, who prevent the money from reaching the pocket of the sovereign? contrive a tax proportionate to the income or earnings of each individual? provide habitations for paupers, and set them to work? consult the English, the Dutch, the bankers, for a good system of finance and manufactures? invite Flemings to improve our agriculture? bring our heaths into cultivation, by means of the monks or the soldiers, for whom villages might be built on

them? borrow of the clergy at two per cent? dig a bed for the river Wien, to carry off the filth of the esplanade, which infects the city, and construct a fine quay planted with four alleys of plantain-trees or acacia? join the rivers by canals? cause the roads to be repaired by the proprietors of the adjacent lands, without ruining the government by constructing them? double our population by the Huguenots of France, and the emigrants from the empire who are ill used by their petty tyrants of sovereigns?"

I said to our generals: "Cannot you, to spare the emperor's subjects, raise regiments of Turks, Poles, Prussians, Saxons, and Italians, by inducing them to desert, and enlisting deserters? levy an Hungarian, Austrian, Bohemian, and Walloon army, with none but officers of their respective nations to keep alive emulation; give furloughs to native subjects; keep up strong garrisons at Vienna, Presburg, Olmutz, Gratz, Lintz, Brussels, Luxemburg, and Milan; form an entrenched camp on each frontier, since fortresses are too

expensive; and encourage the breeding of horses, that money may not be carried out of the country?"

Report has given a mistress to Charles VI. as to any other person—the Spanish Altheim, though she was no more his mistress than the Italian lady was mine formerly, or than Bathiany is now: but as his friend, I said to her: "Cannot you persuade the emperor to gain the love of the electors and first princes of the empire; to draw them to Vienna by magnificent *fêtes*; to give them the order of the Fleece, or some other to their ministers, or colors to their bastards, and pensions or handsome recruiting-officers to their mistresses?"

I said to the confessor:—"Prevent accusations, informations, cabals, unjust proceedings for want of entering into the merits of cases; the monks from enriching themselves by foundations and votive gifts. Allow every convent to keep a certain number of invalids."

To the emperor I said: "Prevent the Prussians, sire, from rising; the Russians, from forming and acquainting themselves with our affairs; and the French from gaining the preponderance. Your monarchy is rather straggling; but for that very reason it adjoins the north, the south, and the east. It is moreover in the centre of Europe, to which your majesty ought to give law."

I return to the Spanish Altheim. As Charles VI. liked to speak Spanish, he distinguished this lady. He would have made love with the same gravity as he killed the grand-equerry whom I have just named. He was afflicted beyond measure at the accident; but nothing ever appeared on his imperial face.

It were to be wished that this female had introduced into Austria the gallantry of her country, like the mother of Louis XIV. to whom the court of France owed its politeness, its taste, the amenity of its manners, still rather savage, in consequence of the troubles

which that nation, fickle and cruel as children, prolonged with such barbarity, Of this the Germans are incapable, but without gallantry, fortunately not without love; though restrained by the devotion of their sovereigns, this only excited a higher relish for its pleasures, which were not the less indulged in at Vienna. There are in this country so many beautiful women, that in vain were ugly ones sought as attendants on the court; scarcely any could be found, and thus the intention of their Imperial Majesties to remove all dangerous objects from their antichambers and galleries was never accomplished.

1725.

The Congress of Cambray went on very ill; Ripperda was sent to Vienna. He was referred to Zinzendorf and me, to whom was left the business of demanding, refusing, and at length accommodating matters; and on the 1st of May we signed the treaty between Austria and Spain. I was much pleased with the society of the Duke de Richelieu, whom

Cardinal Fleury caused to be ridiculously recalled, on account of an absurd story of a conspiracy in the gardens of Leopoldstadt. By a double artifice on his part, of policy and love, he endeavored and expected to gain Madame de Bathiany; and thinking himself extremely cunning, he sometimes played with us at piquet. This amused us much. The wish for an adventure that should make some noise, rendered him every day more and more agreeable to us both. He won neither the lady nor the secret; but we were delighted with his redoubled pains to please us.

## 1726.

After having been a soldier, minister, grand vizir, financier, postilion, negociator, I was at last made a merchant. I established the Ostend company, which the gold and jealousy of the maritime powers caused afterwards to be suppressed; and another at Vienna, to traffic, export, and navigate upon the Danube and Adriatic Sea, where I converted Trieste into a port capable of containing two squa-

drons of men of war, to escort and protect the merchant vessels. I directed other small ports, or at least shelters, to be formed in the Gulf of Venice, the advantages of which were acknowledged by the whole monarchy.

1727.

I spent this whole year in consulting merchants, bankers, and men of business; in drawing them over from foreign countries; in writing to England and Holland, for the purpose of establishing good commercial houses at Ostend and Antwerp; and to Spain, Italy, and even Turkey, with a view to establish others at Trieste and Vienna. This interested, amused, and occupied me exceedingly. I frustrated the miserable plans of our ministers of finance, who had never studied or travelled. I occasioned the settlement among us of consuls, a kind of people to whom we alone were before strangers. I formed studs in Hungary and Bohemia for breeding horses, that money might not be sent

out of the country: and I can affirm that for ten years the emperor's affairs never went on so well, and perhaps never will again.

## 1728.

Charles VI. resolved to go and examine the improvements at Trieste. I was of the party, and should have been heartily tired but for Prince Francis of Lorraine, who was extremely amiable, handsome, only twenty years of age, and gay as his little court of Lorraine. Some pretty ladies belonging to the court who attended the empress in this journey contributed to render it pleasing, notwithstanding the bigotted austerity of that princess.

Charles VI. though the bravest of men now living, was less so by half than Leopold. He knew how to give his court a suitable degree of splendor, and with us and our attendants, he had more than fifteen hundred persons in his retinue. He had dances at

Gratz; killed chamoyes by the way; and was satisfied with the port and city of Trieste.

1729.

To complete my work I had to battle a good deal with the too-righteous Catholics and big wigs of this country. The Jesuits are indulgent when one knows how to manage them. They were very useful to me in procuring a cessation of the persecutions practised upon the Protestants in my fleet, who were forbidden the exercise of their religion. The only sailors left me were those who had none at all, or hypocrites. This was still worse; for how could I trust these two classes of people, who had no fear of God, but only feared the emperor? The honest Swedish, Danish, Hamburgh, and Lübeck sailors, and merchants, returned or remained; thanks to a couple of Protestant ministers whom I kept on board of our ships.

## 1730.

At length I enjoyed the pleasure of having the first fair at Trieste ; and after some labor upon the finances, to find money enough to raise thirty-six thousand men, with whom the emperor resolved to augment his army. He was right to hold himself in readiness for all events ; 'tis the way to preserve peace. But I thought I could perceive that certain intriguers for their own private interest, or certain zealous, but shallow persons, would not be displeased to produce a rupture on the first opportunity. The French are clever in discovering what passes, and by these means are always in a better condition than others.

## 1731.

The Duke of Liria was the minister of Spain, and Robinson minister of England. People were [not long in the dark respect-

ing my long conferences with them ; and on the 22d of July, a treaty of offensive alliance between our three courts was signed. I am no friend to protracted preparations or to half-measures. One is ignorant what is passing at one's own court, though it is known at foreign courts. It is not till the first day of the campaign that the public ought to be informed of alliances.

## 1732.

The court of Versailles, for example, was not duped by the journey to Carlsbad, whither I accompanied the emperor, who gave out that he was going for the benefit of the waters. It was obvious that some interview was in contemplation. The King of Prussia was waiting for us at Prague, and the moment I had dressed myself to pay my respects to him, who should enter but his majesty. " No ceremony," said he to me, " I am come to chat with my master." He was a Charles XII. of peace ; he dreamt of nothing but military matters ; but these were only parades, exer-

cises, short coats, little hats, and tall men. I was obliged to hear him talk on all these subjects, of the fine order of his troops, and of his economy. Here I took him up, and advised him to amass plenty of money and plenty of men to defend us if we were attacked; for my system, as may be perceived, was not to make war, but to create a barrier against France, in order to take from her all inclination to attack us. Preferring friends to allies, who are often troublesome, and a kind of tutors, I only engaged him not to declare against us; knowing his avarice, I was apprehensive lest we should not prevail so far. I persuaded Charles VI. to descend a step from his Spanish haughtiness, and at least to give him a friendly reception. He gave him a handsome entertainment, which cost a good deal of money. I prevailed upon all the Bohemian nobility to pay high honors to the king. He would have preferred a review to a ball, but that was not our *forte*. I had been so successful in the higher tactics as to care nothing about wheeling to the right and left, and the manual exercise. The contrast of the dignity and magnificence of our em-

peror in a mantle of gold, with this royal corporal, was very diverting. He returned to Potzdam, and we to Vienna.

## 1733.

It was about this time that I clearly perceived the diminution of my influence. The King of Poland died in the month of February. Russia proposed to assist us in securing the election of his son Augustus III. in spite of France, who was desirous of again seating Stanislaus upon the throne. A great conference at court; scarcely any division of opinion: that for making war is espoused principally by those who take no part in war, as the ministers, the priests, the women, and the loungers of a great city. I said one day in a company where they were clamoring on the subject: "I wish that your Excellencies, and you ladies, were each obliged to pay four thousand ducats; and that you fine gentlemen had to march immediately with muskets on your shoulders." This reminds me of two

lines which I read some time ago, I know not where :

Et pour un soufflet qui ne se battrait pas,  
A la mort fait courir pour l'honneur des états.

At length it was asserted that the so-called honor of the state was compromised, if we did not go to war. " I acknowledge it not," said I to the ministers, " except when it is supported by powerful means: those of France never were so strong as at present; her finances are in the best possible state, in consequence of twenty years of peace. We have had scarcely ten since the peace of Westphalia; that is to say, for a period of near eighty years. Her administration is wise." I would not roundly declare that our's was not, but I hinted as much. " What have we to do with a war so foreign to the Germanic body, which will make this reflection, and send us no assistance? The Russians are too distant to afford any; and before they arrive the empire and Italy will be overrun. Recollect the versatility of England in my better days: she is

ever ready to begin again. A mercantile policy is always to be heard at the doors of her parliament. The Englishman, just, noble, upright, and generous, on his private account, is the contrary in behalf of his country. 'Tis a land of contradiction, whose constitution the ocean alone supports; as bad faith in speeches, and a desire to shine, support the opposition. The haughtiness and unskilfulness often manifested by the emperor's envoys at foreign courts, frequently cause them to slip away from him, and render it impossible to reckon upon any thing; and notwithstanding my conversations with Liria and Robinson, I would lay a wager that Spain will declare for France, and England will remain neuter."

Good as were the reasons which I alleged to prove that France would be very glad to find a pretext for a war with us, and bad as were those employed to refute them, the latter, nevertheless, prevailed. It was perhaps supposed that I should refuse the command of the army, which was offered me out of compliment; but this was a mistake, for I

accepted it. For my own part individually, I am fond of war; and in this I wished to meet the fate of Turenne.

Before I had time to assemble the army, the command of which, till my arrival, was given to the Duke of Bevern, and while I was making all my arrangements with the council of war, what I had foreseen happened. On the 28th of October, the French had taken the fortress of Kehl, levied contributions throughout the whole empire, and overrun the Milanese. Sardinia and Spain had declared against us. In vain I represented to the empire till I was tired, that the aggression of France ought to make it declare in our favor: three electors protested against such declaration, alleging that this invasion concerned only the head of the empire; that it was only a passage through for the purpose of attacking Austria, and that France had promised to restore all she had taken as soon as the emperor should dissolve his connexion with the Elector of Saxony.

1734.

Stanislaus was obliged to fly: the Divan of Constantinople began to take alarm at the preponderance of Russia. The grand vizir, Hali Pacha, wrote to me: “ *Nalkiran* is dead.” This appellation was given to him in that country on account of his strength: it signifies *breaker of horse-shoes*. “ Poland has elected one of her great nobles. Why should the Czarina violate in two instances her treaties with her neighbors and the liberty of a country, in which she is desirous of rendering the crown hereditary, and annulling an election? The Sublime Porte is a guarantee to it, and will not suffer such a procedure.”

The influence of Russia and hostility to France having gained the ascendancy at our court, I could not reply to him that I was of the same opinion as the Sublime Porte. In spite of my real sentiments, I justified the Czarina, and among the wretched reasons

which I urged, I said: "That she had entered Poland with no other view than to put an end to the murders and quarrels of the different factions who were tearing one another in pieces; that the party which had chosen Augustus III. in the same camp where Henry de Valois was formerly elected was much stronger than that of Stanislaus, too insignificant a nobleman to be a king; and that he was supported only because he was father-in-law to the King of France; that the son of Augustus II. had been elected Piast; that he was as much so as any other; that the primate himself had required it; and that my emperor hoped that his and he should agree together for the restoration of peace in the North of Europe."

All this I wrote to the Turks, in order to afford the Russians no occasion to fight them; for they always pretend to be insulted, and the people under their protection oppressed, to obtain a pretext for taking some fortresses.

I arrived on the 25th of April at Heilbron. On the 27th I reviewed the army a few

leagues from Philipsburg. I still shed tears of joy, tenderness, and gratitude, whenever I recollect how I was received with repeated shouts of "Long live our father!" and thousands of hats thrown into the air. The old companions of my campaigns in Hungary, Italy, Flanders, and Bavaria, crowded to embrace the tops of my boots; they surrounded me, embraced my horse, and even pulled me down with their caresses. This moment was certainly the most delicious of my life; but it was embittered by the reflection that I had only thirty-five thousand men, that the enemy had eighty thousand, and announced his determination to march to Vienna. I conducted them into the lines of Ettlingen; but these were calculated for one hundred thousand men, and I had no inclination to repeat the affair of Denain. I abandoned them; but I made so many marches and countermarches, and *abattis*, and played off so many stratagems, that I prevented Berwick from penetrating into the interior of the country. He could do nothing else than lay siege to Philipsburg. This was what I wanted, in order to gain time. His head was there

carried off by a cannon-ball, eight days after the opening of the trenches. I was envious on this occasion, and it was for the first time in my life. I was disappointed in this plan, as well as in that of attacking the French in their lines. I thought I had discovered a place badly fortified, and with a small quantity of artillery; they had neglected it, because it was covered by a morass which I had been told was passable, but which I found it impossible to cross; for I went myself to reconnoitre it: one cannot implicitly rely on any report. This has been my practice all my life; I have found the benefit of it, as well as of constantly having a pencil in my pocket to write down in an officer's tablets the order which I give him to carry.

I had received some Hessian, Hanoverian, and Prussian reinforcements: among whom I distinguished the prince royal, who appeared a young man of infinite promise. D'Asfeld had surpassed himself. Never did I see any thing so strong; for instance, his ditches, or *trous des loups*, were conical, and superior to those of Condé at Arras: it was from this

reconnoitring that I formed my opinion of the young prince whom I have just mentioned. When I was resolved to fight, I never assembled a council of war; but this time I was sure that every one would be of my opinion. I determined to cross the Rhine, and to re-cross it higher up to attack D'Asfeld. For this service I had destined thirty thousand cavalry and ten thousand Swiss.

This devil of a fellow had all his wits about him, and at length took Philipsburg, in spite of my cannonade of his camp, in which I rather acted the Grand Vizir of Belgrade, for my batteries and parapets were elevated to fire down upon it, and the water, besides, was still more terrible than the fire. I relied more upon the effect of the one than the other. But what a nation! capable of every thing. Richelieu, whom I had known a Sybarite, so delicate and voluptuous, the young courtiers, the Durases, and the La Vallières, were metamorphosed. They only want a leader. D'Asfeld was a rigid disciplinarian, and set a good example; and before him Berwick held them awe. They threw up the trenches in

boats, and endured every hardship with unequalled patience. I never had any, for my part, under mental sufferings. The first that had attacked the other would have been beaten, and had that been my lot, the French might have gone to Vienna, for there was no fortified place on the way, or upon the flanks: and the Elector of Bavaria, who had subject of complaint, only waited for this to declare against Austria, whose haughtiness or awkwardness gained her friends no where. We should have lost the few we had. There was no Sobieski to save the capital; I should have retired within the lines which I constructed, as has been seen in 1705; but meanwhile *Te Deum* would have been sung at Versailles, and in the chapel of some of my enemies at Vienna. People there at length became sensible of the justice of my reasons against the war, for they then perceived the inferiority of our means, with which the barkers and firebrands of society cannot be acquainted.

Philipsburg being taken, I retired to my old camp at Bruchsal. D'Asfeld would have

laid siege to Mentz, but this intention I obliged him to relinquish, for I hastened to cover that place. My marches, to prevent the French from penetrating into Swabia by the Black Forest, have, in my opinion, been sufficiently extolled. I covered Würtemberg, and they found me every where except in the field of battle: for really I could not fight. More fatigued than we, but able to recruit themselves whenever they pleased, they entered into winter quarters; and I, innocent in my own eyes, deserving neither the praise nor the censure with which I have been honored, satisfied with a kind of petty passive glory, set out for Vienna.

I had left my nephew, the only remaining shoot of my branch of Savoy, sick at Mannheim: he died of a fever, as I have been told, but I suspect of something else. 'Tis a pity; he possessed understanding and courage. Though only twenty years of age, he was a major-general, but too much of a libertine. I allow a man to be a little disposed that way. I love the indiscreet and detest Catos; they scarcely ever stand fire well: but my little

Eugene was fond of bad company and bad friends; and these are enough to ruin any body.

“What have you gained, Sire,” said I to the emperor at the first audience, “in this war, which I again advise your majesty to terminate as early as possible? After the loss of two battles in Italy, your troops will be driven from the country, as they have been out of Naples and Sicily. Consider that it is a French army, a very different sort of thing from mine, which is a piece of mosaic work. We are still waiting for the contingents of five or six petty allies, who, possessing not a sous, sell their insignificant aid to your majesty, and their hearts to France. The great succours which Russia is sending you, amount to no more than fourteen thousand men, whom she will soon recal; for after leading us into this war, she will (which heaven avert!) perhaps hurry you into another with the Turks, which I believe they are even going to begin.” Charles VI. with his usual taciturnity, only told me to say the same thing to the council of conference.

I gained over all the military men to my opinion. I said to them:—"While the maritime states, who are desirous of peace for the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, strive to accomplish their purpose, I shall collect all the force I can, since that is the way to put an end to the business.

At the end of April I set off for Heilbron, and took up my excellent camp at Bruchsal, as I had done the year before; but as the enemy was much stronger, I had nothing to do but to cover all the places and the country on this side the Rhine.

In order to render the possession of Philipsburg useless to him, I turned the course of three small rivers, which, instead of discharging themselves into the Rhine, produced me a superb inundation from that fortress to Ettlingen, the lines of which thus covered were unassailable.

Had I been able to leave them, having no longer to do with D'Asfeld, who had been succeeded by Coigny, I should have finished

my military career better than by the same passive kind of glory as the preceding year. I gave it some degree of activity by taking Trarbach, and delivering the electorate of Treves. Seeing that there was nothing more to be done, nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, as I had told Charles VI. fifty times, I was very glad at first to be recalled to Vienna, though I shrewdly suspected that this was my last campaign. It would be difficult for me to express what I felt on taking leave of my army. It was a painful scene I assure you. An old soldier only can know what it is to bid a last farewell to such brave fellows, whom he has so often led to death, which I was desirous of meeting in so happy, speedy, and glorious a manner: 'tis the only favor God has refused me. With tears in my eyes I resigned the command to the Duke of Wurtemberg; and on my arrival at Vienna, I luckily found La Baume, the agent sent by Cardinal Fleury, to make very reasonable proposals. France had been rather humbled in Poland: her garrison of fifteen thousand men had surrendered at Dantzic, and the father-in-law of Louis XV. had withdrawn

himself nobody knew whither. The Russians and Augustus III. triumphed, as might be expected; and I taking advantage of the desire of Charles VI. to restore the extinguished House of Austria, by marrying his daughter, Maria Theresa, to Prince Francis of Lorraine, we soon came to an understanding, and the preliminaries were signed.

The day after this signature, I went to the emperor to congratulate him on having got out of such a scrape as this war, and entreated him to beware lest Russia should involve him in another with the Turks. I said to him: "In proportion as one grows old, Sire, one ventures to speak the truth with greater boldness. Before we begin we ought to ask ourselves what we mean to do, what we are able to do? You neither want, nor are you able, to take Widdin and Nissa, but you may lose Belgrade. The Bosniacs and the Servians and the best of the Asiatics will be against you. Against the Russians there will be only Tartars, Arnauts, Christians, Greeks of the right bank of the Dniester, who, being separated from them by deserts, will do them no

great injury. They may do you harm if they prove victorious. Part of your subjects are of their religion. Animosities will arise between your two courts, and ill-humour and distrust will prevail among the commanders of your two imperial armies.

“ You have nobody to run about as I did when young, to all the courts to prevent the coalition from falling to pieces. The Germanic body is won by the gold or the seductive influence of France. Make an enumeration of the inhabitants of your hereditary dominions, that every district may be obliged to keep its regiment continually complete. For the interest of the Hungarians, and your own, prevent them from revolting, by making them pay regular taxes, and furnish a certain number of recruits every year. You have no money, but by far too many civil servants; have soldiers instead of counsellors.

“ Purchase the King of Sardinia, Sire, that he may preserve Lombardy for you, and the maritime powers, that they may preserve the Low Countries; that is to say, give them,

if necessary, one half of the revenues, that you may receive the other without expence, and prevent France from gaining such large acquisitions. Since your majesty has lost Philipsburg, make Lintz a fortress; and secure, by force or other means, the Elector Bavaria, if France would attack you; and the Elector of Saxony, in like manner, if the King of Prussia, who is perceptibly aggrandizing himself, gained by Cardinal de Fleury, should threaten Bohemia. Make game of the Turks, and I promise your majesty a glorious reign, from the tranquillity which you will insure to your dominions." Such was my wish for this emperor.

It belongs to history to judge whether I have finished well or ill. I know that since the year 1717, consequently for these eighteen years, I have fought no battles, but this was for want of men, money, allies, and influence at court (with pain I acknowledge it); and at length I caused peace to be restored to Europe, after two tolerable campaigns, in which, if I have not acquired honor, I have at least nothing to reproach myself with.

It is said that during these two last campaigns, Guido Stahrenberg, who was naturally of his cousin Gundacker's party, clamored a good deal against me. This reminds me of what Vilars said to me at Rastadt: "Our enemies are not in the field. Your's are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." What is not a little diverting, is, that it is pretended that animosity originated in a foolish trick which is not at all like me, and which would have betrayed either insolence or bad taste. I had besides long given up the habit of laughing, and had even relinquished my little French peculiarities, in order to succeed the better at the gravest court in the world. Here is this paltry anecdote as I have heard it related. In my first campaign in Italy, on the emperor's birth-day, when I gave a grand dinner to all my generals, I am said to have directed crackers to be laid under Stahrenberg's chair, and at the moment when he was raising his glass to his lips to drink the emperor's health, the trumpets and other instruments which accompanied it gave the signal for the explosion. The company thought it was a mine; and all ran away excepting the person

under whom was this little volcano. He finished his glass, and calmly set it down again on the table. Guido, enraged, it is said, at this trial of his courage, never forgave me for it. What occasion could I have to doubt it? We have known each other ever since the siege of Vienna, when he was in the city as captain and adjutant to his cousin Rudiger. He is six years older than myself, and has always displayed the greatest talents, and the most exemplary valor, to which I willingly do justice. I scarcely ever see him, and as I imagine he possesses at present no more influence than I have, perhaps we are friends. Old generals who have been enemies to one another, are like women whose animosities subside at a certain age, because they cease to be of any sex.

Of all the ministers, Zinzendorf was the man to whose conversation I was most partial. "I will wager," said I to him, "that your Excellency will be of my opinion. We want no political sentences: the aspect of Europe changes like that of a plain or a mountain, by the accidents of light. People say, such a

kingdom is the natural enemy of another. No such thing ; if they are contiguous, the one should strive to secure the friendship, if not the alliance of the other, for its defence against some more distant power. Why after the peace of Rastadt did we not unite cordially with France? The party hostile to her in England had been crushed; and we should have saved many millions of money and thousands of lives. When one cannot give law, one ought to think only how to avoid receiving it. But what is it that is called court-policy, reasons of state? What but the personal interest either of the ambition or revenge of the person in favor. This last motive, Count, has I think, upon examining myself for instance, had some influence upon me as well as the first; and a desire of power and wealth gave a bias to Marlborough."

"Which governments do you think the best?" said Zinzendorf to me. "You will take me for a tyrant," I replied, "when I tell you, a military government. Monsters are rare: why should the seven or eight thrones of Europe be just at this moment filled by such?

The monster king would be unjust and cruel only to his friends and those about him ; but he would not be so to the country-gentleman, to the citizen, to the peasant, whom he would govern by military laws, which are the clearest and most prompt of any. Your Excellency is an exception. But consider what I am going to have the honor to observe to you. The soldier is so weary of being cruel during war, that he ceases to be so in time of peace. I wish that every prime minister who decides between them had been in the service, that he might know what it is. He would consent to arbitrations, as in a law-suit, mediations, moderations, before he would determine to spill so much blood." " I confess," said Zinzen-dorf, " that the cardinals who have been ministers have caused the shedding of a great deal, our good friend Fleury excepted, who has no inclination that way. I think it is ignorance, levity, which is always cruel like infancy, that turn the scale in our councils in favor of war, more frequently than you brave men, who dread it for the sake of others, wish it for your own, and at the same time prevent or defer it as much as lies in your power."

“ The other day the emperor took me out a hunting with him, a thing without example in the Spanish-Austrian etiquette, which I find no fault with, because it is necessary for the sovereign to keep up his dignity in regard to the great, that the latter may keep up theirs in respect to the lower classes, and thus form as it were a cascade of consideration. Here is nearly what I said to him in the carriage. “ If your majesty were desirous of going to war again, I see no great generals to command your armies. You must wait till they arise. Conigseg is a courtier, and Neiperg a wit rather than a general. Khevenhuller is the best of the three. The first is loved and esteemed; the second is more amiable, because he is more *piquant*: he is feared on account of his highly diverting sarcasms and sallies; but he stands fire with admirable coolness. The third is more capable of directing the marches, the encampments, the organization and the movement of troops. Hildburghausen has courage, but little judgment. As he has married my niece, people imagine that I have undertaken the office of his instructor. They do both of us too

much honor. He is called the white Eugene, because he is as fair as I am dark. I wish the Duke of Lorraine, your majesty's son-in-law, and his brother, Prince Charles (the one twenty-six, and the other twenty-two years of age), bestowed more application on the subject. They possess genius, valor too I believe, and will make themselves adored. The second will have most talents. The princes of the blood, even with less merit than others, have superior advantages. Appointed at an early age to the command of armies, they have more experience, and dare to be much more enterprising. Try these last, Sire, perhaps you may find them to answer. Besides the others know no more of the matter than they." I had never talked to him so long about business. He was not fond of it any more than his father. It was always a very short audience or councils of conference. I like them much, because no one dares there give an opinion for which he has to blush, if he would not lose the esteem of his neighbor, who is there obliged to give an account of his department. A sovereign, difficult of access, is not on that account

beyond the reach of mean, disgraceful advice, informations, calumnies, and prejudices."

———Now I have nearly withdrawn from public life. I play at piquet every evening at Madame de Bathiany's, with Taroca, Windischgratz, and Tessin, the Swedish ambassador. It is rather for the sake of conversation. People are more talkative when they do not say *Let us talk*, and round a card-table they are more at their ease; otherwise games of commerce are extinguishers of society. In war, I prefer games of chance. At my head-quarters, those who won were put into high spirits, and those who lost fought better; 'tis soon over, and time is more valuable than money. I am fond of the company of young people; they are more pure, not having been corrupted by intrigue. I often see the commander Zinzendorf, a man of enlarged understanding, and good company, and Frederic Harrach, who adds to these qualities considerable talents for business. I foresee that he will be raised to important posts, as will in war Dhaun and Brown. The first possesses most merit; the second will have

boldness ; and the last, superior talents for discipline and the essential details, without being trifling. Joseph Wenzl Lichtenstein is likewise a brave general, a good citizen, and a genuine nobleman. Seckendorf and Schmettau, with military qualities, depend rather too much on circumstances.

Young Cobentzl, a man of great intelligence, often visits at Madame de Bathiany's. He one day said to her : " It is generally believed, madam, that you have married Prince Eugene." " I love him much too well for that," replied she ; " I would rather have a bad reputation, than take away his, and thus abuse his age at seventy-two."

Kaunitz, of the same age as Cobentzl, without possessing so much character, such readiness in conversation, will have enlarged views. He has just, noble, and profound ideas. I am almost as much attached to Madame Strattmann as to her sister, my mistress, as she is called.

" If you were not religious, and I was five-

and-twenty, what would be the consequence?" said I one day to Madame de Bathiany. "Nothing," replied she, "things would be just as they are. I am religious, in the first place, because I love God, and because I believe and put my trust in him; in the next place, this is a safe-guard of my peace, which would come to the aid of my wounded self-love, if I were to be forsaken; and then, that I may be able to scoff at women who have lovers. I am religious, because I have neither fear, nor hope, nor desire, in this life; and because the good which I do for the poor, from humanity, is of benefit to my soul. I am religious, because the wicked fear me, and are disgusting to me. I am religious, that I may not have occasion to be continually watchful of my reputation; women who are not, dare not say or do any thing; they are like thieves who think themselves pursued by the police wherever they go. But I detest those who assume the mask of piety, or are religious only on account of the immortality of the soul. Were mine to perish with me, I would nevertheless endeavor to be virtuous as I do at present. It is not so much for

fear of God, as out of gratitude for his favors, and love to him, that I am religious, without publicly proclaiming it like those ladies who make a trade of the thing to please the court, rather than to please heaven."

I have been happy in this life, and I wish to be so in the other. There are old dragoons who will pray to heaven for me, and I have more faith in their prayers, than in those of all the old women of the court and of the city clergy. The fine music, whether simple or more obstreperous, of the divine service, delights me. The one has something religious, which awes the soul; the other reminds me, by the flourishes of trumpets and kettle-drums, which so often led my soldiers to victory, of the God of hosts who has blessed our arms. I have scarcely had time to sin; but I have set a bad example, perhaps, without knowing it, by my negligence of the forms of religion, in which I have, however, invariably believed. I have sometimes spoken evil of people, but only when I thought myself obliged to do so; and have said: "Such an one is a coward, and such an one a scoundrel."

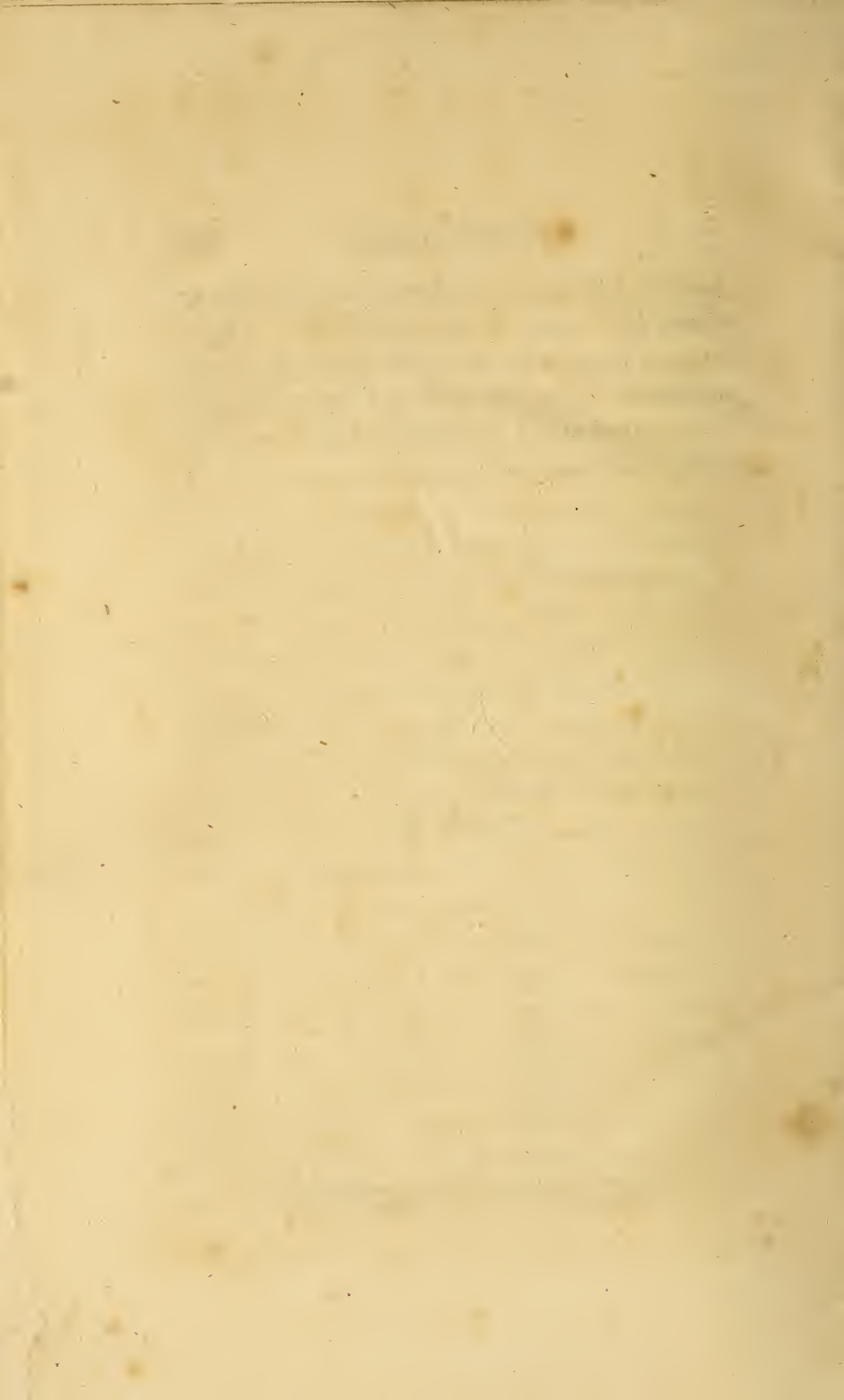
I have sometimes given way to passion ; but who could help swearing to see a general or a regiment that did not do their duty, or an adjutant who did not understand one ? I have been too careless as a soldier, and lived like a philosopher. I wish to die as a christian. I never like swaggerers either in war or in religion, and it is perhaps from having seen ridiculous impieties like those of the Frenchmen, of whom I have spoken on the one hand, and Spanish bigotries on the other, that I have always kept myself aloof from both. I have so often beheld death near at hand, that I had become familiar with him. But now it is no longer the same thing. Then I sought him, now I wait for him ; and meanwhile I live in peace. I look upon the past as a pleasing dream. I go to court only on gala days, and to the theatre when there is an Italian opera, serious or comic, or a fine ballet. If we had a French company, I would go to see *Athalie*, *Esther*, and *Polyeucte*. I am delighted with the eloquence of the pulpit. When Bourdaloue inspires me with terror, Massillon fills me with hope. We were born in the same year, and I knew him on his entrance into the

world—a perfectly amiable man. Bossuet astonishes—Fenelon affects me. I saw them also in my youth; and Marlborough and I paid the latter all possible honors when we took Cambrai. I have forgotten the epigrams of Rousseau, and even his ode for me; but I read his psalms and hymns over and over again. I still retain my memory, as may be seen; and I think I have forgotten nothing except my enemies in this country, whom I forgive with all my heart. A foreigner, and successful!—This was too much for them. My health is very good, considering my age of seventy-two years, the fatigues of I know not how many campaigns, and the effects of I can't tell how many wounds. The Chevalier Carelli, my physician and friend, furnishes me with a sure remedy for curing as he says the radical humidity, which he thinks somewhat wasted. I have yet many things to do for the embellishment of my gardens and palace; for instance, I mean to buy all the ground in front of that in which I live, and at which I have employed fifteen hundred workmen (because it was a time of dearth, and this was beneficial to the city of Vienna), to form a

fine square, with a splendid fountain in the middle. If I should live a little longer, I shall not fail to write down whatever I recollect, and what comes into my head, which is still pretty strong, though, to annoy me, people have asserted that my faculties were considerably decayed. It was once strong enough to prevent me from dying of vexation, as my friend Prince Louis of Baden did, about thirty years ago. I shrugged my shoulders at it, and kept on my usual course. For instance, if I were to interfere in public affairs, I would say to the emperor: "Take all possible precautions respecting your succession; it will be involved in dreadful confusion. Two or three powers will lay claim to it. Prevent all this in your life-time. Here is an occasion for posting about as I did in my time to Munich, Berlin, London, the Hague." &c. The army and artillery are neglected. We shall not be capable of resistance, unless we contrive to prevent all that is likely to happen; and unless, above all things, on the death of Charles VI. we refuse to go to war with the Turks. I wished prosperity to the House of Austria, which will soon be that of

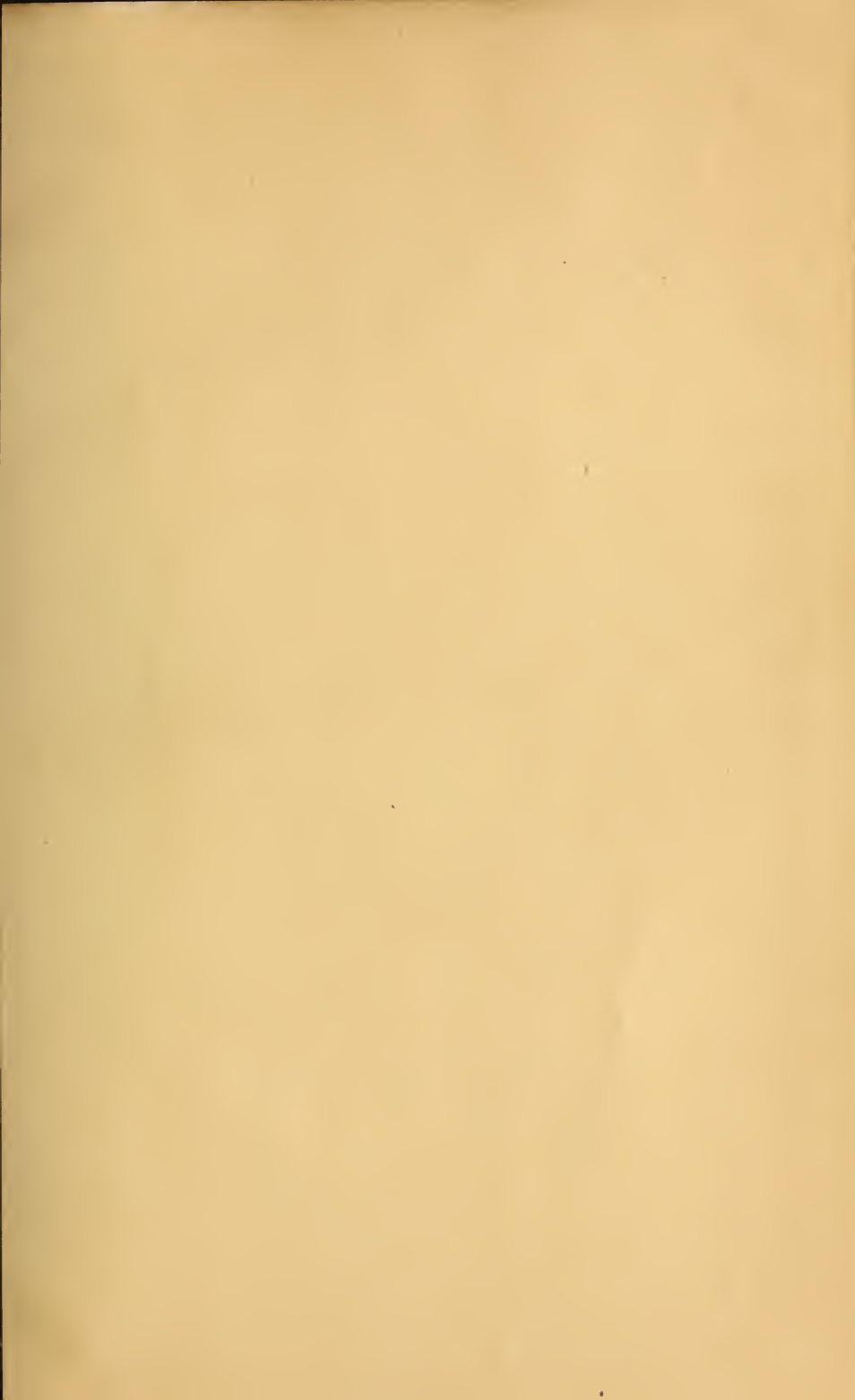
Austria-Lorraine, and hope that it will extricate itself from this embarrassment. I have written enough to day, and will now mount my horse to go and look at a lion which has just arrived at my menagerie, on the road to Schweikelt.....

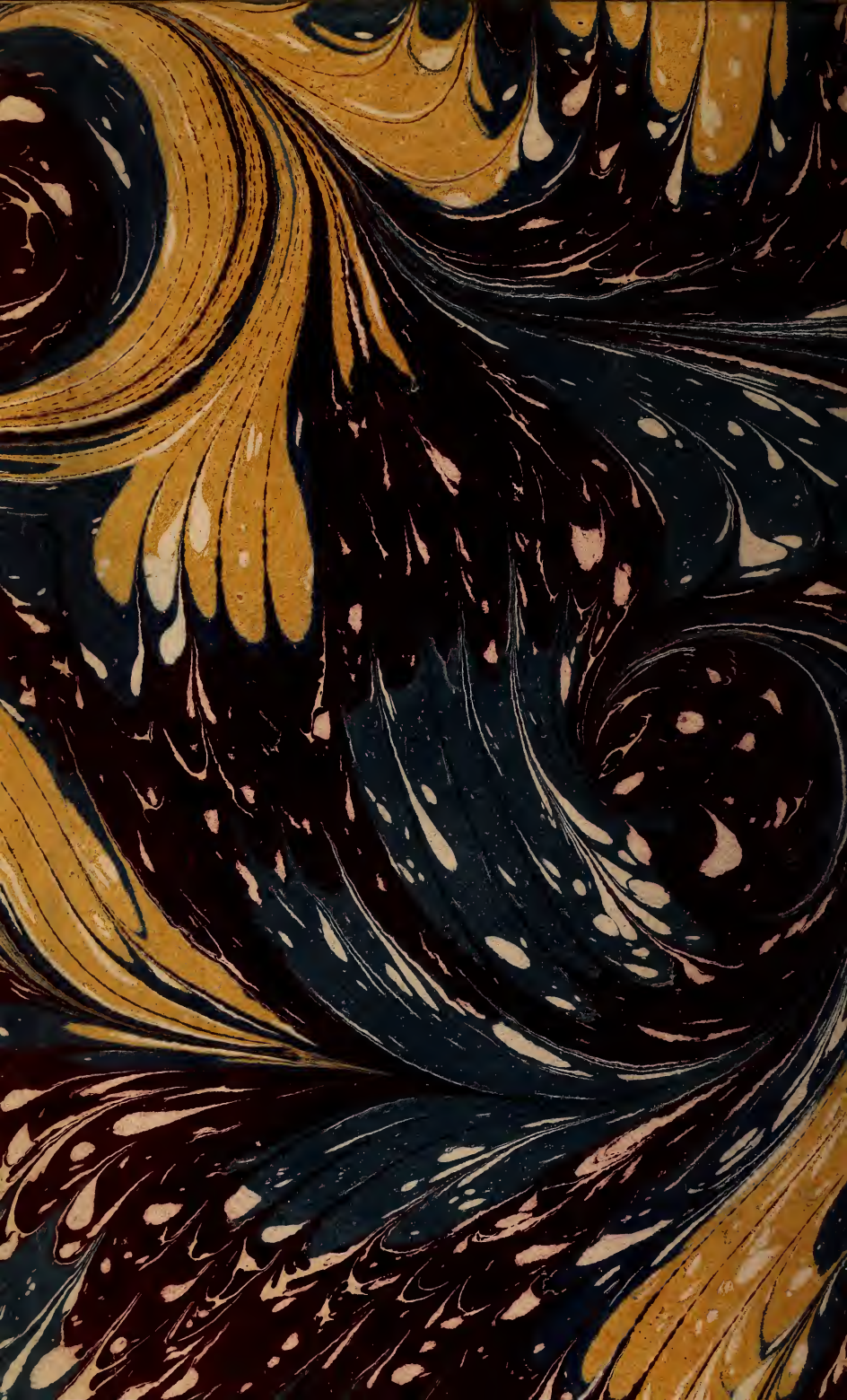
THE END.





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